Mr. Cortez and Mr. Kellogg

The World Tomorrow

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INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

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Stuart Chase
Harry Ward
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John Haynes Holmes
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The World Tomorrow, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

GOOD NEWS

"Facts Is Facts"

FOR six weeks we have been facing the future. This has not been a mere January 1 traditional act. It has been a serious and painstaking examination of our quality, assets, circulation, advertising, and liabilities. We have carefully considered the comments of our friends and readers. We have analyzed and tabulated the results of a critical questionnaire we sent out in December to random hundreds of our readers with a view to evaluating the magazine.

We were, as you all know, faced with a grave financial situation. Our future was by no means certain. That is why we appealed to you.

Three Things Happened

THE member-cooperators and subscribers of THE WORLD TOMORROW came through!

We received a large number of small contributions.
We received some large contributions.
We cut the budget to the bone.

Cooperation wrought a victory, and now we can't be stopped!

The Future

WE are exultant, but exultant only as a runner sees the goal and knows that he can make it. We have hard work ahead. All of us. If you will not stop now; if you will help by telling everybody about THE WORLD TOMORROW, we can produce a better magazine, double our circulation and establish an unshakable financial basis.

APRIL

Propaganda

The Propaganda of the Reactionaries
Radicals and Their Propaganda
Can the Public Be Made Critical?
War Time Propaganda
A Criticism of Propaganda
If Not Propaganda, What?

MAY

Caribbean Number

The Canal—A Waterway to What?
The Fourteen Possessions and the Monroe Doctrine
Haiti—A Case in Point
Social Equality in the Caribbean
The Culture of the Peoples
A Future We Would Like

THE WORLD TOMORROW
52 VANDERBILT AVE., NEW YORK

Who Reads The World Tomorrow?

WE are proud of the fact that we have **readers** *in every state of the Union and 46 foreign countries, and that The World Tomorrow goes to hundreds of schools; colleges; youth groups; educational, religious, and scientific organizations; to 681 libraries; and to thousands of individuals in all walks of life. Readers who are thinkers and doers, if ever any paper had that kind; readers, not equally well known perhaps, but alike in their devotion to intelligent human progress.*

From among the better known, at random and with no effort to be comprehensive, our subscription department presents us with this partial list:

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The
World Tomorrow

Vol. X March, 1927 No. 3

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Point of View

THIS nation has been prosperous. Calvin Coolidge, Andrew Mellon, our bankers, and our political aspirants for 1928 nominations are emphasizing this and prophesy continued good times. *Good times* in the United States, or in any country, implies prosperity, which in turn should embrace steady employment, good wages, decent working conditions, hours of labor which give leisure for pleasure, international peace and goodwill, and an intelligent use of wealth and property, that future generations may in their turn live in *"Good times."*

Are industrial conditions in the United States such that we may confidently look ahead to industrial peace? Have we learned that in the past, in times of prosperity and industrial peace, people formed attitudes which later added to the violence of labor conflicts?

What of the fact that there are in the United States nearly three millions of unemployed most of the time? The American Federation of Labor has had a 63,387 decrease in its membership in 1926 as compared with 1925. Why? The agreement between bituminous coal operators and the United Mine Workers ends on April 1, 1927. If the negotiations now in progress fail and a strike occurs, then what?

CAN the Strike as a method be replaced? What of the lockout and injunction? If industrial warfare is as futile as we believe force is in any situation, then what are we, in peace times, to do to prevent it? Because an answer must be found to these questions, we have assembled data which suggest a program of industrial peace.

WE have drawn together a group of the writers best qualified to speak from their experience. The nine contributors to the symposium "Can the Strike Be Replaced?" are labor leaders representing foreign and American points of view. **Stuart Chase** is a member of the Labor Bureau of New York and author of *The Tragedy of Waste*. **Harry Ward** is professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary. **George Soule** is a director of the Labor Bureau of New York. **John Haynes Holmes** is the minister of the Community Church, New York. **Robert W. Bruère** is one of our best-known students and writers on technical industrial and labor problems. **A. J. Muste** is head of the Brookwood Labor College.

Among our non-topical contributors: **Hubert C. Herring** was leader of the "Mexican Seminar" which has just come back from Mexico. **Anonymous** is an official of the League of Nations. **Anna Rochester** is a contributing editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW. Our chief book reviews are by **Lindsay Rogers**, professor of government at Columbia University; **George W. Kirchwey**, a noted expert on penology, and **Leo Wolman**, head of the Research Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. **E. Merrill Root** is a professor at Earlham College. **Leon Herald** is an Armenian poet, author of *This Waking Hour*. **Arthur R. Macdougall, Jr.**, is Pastor of the Congregational Church in Bingham, Maine.

CERTAIN changes which appear in this issue of the magazine need comment. We are using larger type. In the front of the magazine will be found a new department of current comment to which all four editors will contribute. *Not in the Headlines* has been increased to two pages. The *Oncomers* page, as such, has been dropped; we shall from time to time run material for our young readers.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. X. **March, 1927** **No. 3**

HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Editorials

Shall the Marines Follow the Dollar?

THE use of violence by nations to protect their financial interests abroad is proving to be less and less effective. The policy of armed coercion is rapidly breaking down in China, India, and Egypt, and has already been abandoned in Turkey, Ireland, and the Ruhr. The economic boycott, the industrial strike, the policy of non-violent non-co-operation, and national armies are being widely used to administer disastrous blows to the commercial and financial interests of foreigners. It is supreme folly to think that western powers can successfully safeguard their economic interests in the Near East or in the Orient by the use of violence.

"OH, SAY CAN YOU SEE . . .?"
—Thiele in the Winston-Salem *Journal*.

The United States is rapidly becoming a great creditor nation. Already our citizens have invested eleven billion dollars in other countries and this amount is being increased at the rate of a billion dollars annually. It has long been our policy to use marines and gunboats to protect our property when endangered in other lands. Professor Shepherd has recently enumerated thirty cases since 1898 where we have resorted to armed intervention in Latin America.

It is high time that the citizens of this country should realize the ominous significance of this policy. We can continue to bully small states like Nicaragua and Haiti, but in so doing we will solidify all Latin America against us. We can continue to hold the Philippines, but we will increase the resentment of all Orientals toward us. If we attempt to use violence in protecting our interests in Europe, we will unite that continent against us. Moreover, if we continue the policy of armed intervention, we will encourage other great powers to do the same. Such a policy on our part may not lead to war in the immediate future, due to our preponderant strength, but it will certainly destroy the friendship of other peoples for us and will eventually make us one of the most feared and hated of nations, if we are not that already.

IF the use of force is ineffective and disastrous, how then shall our government protect the property and financial interests of our citizens in other lands? No absolute guarantee can be offered. In many parts of the world governments are very unstable, and disorders are frequent and property is often jeopardized. In these lands investments involve heavy risks. For this reason high rates of interest are charged and exorbitant profits sought. The only safe policy for our government to follow is to warn our citizens that those who invest money in other lands do so at their own risk. If this policy were adopted, many of our citizens would undoubtedly suffer heavy losses from time to time in various countries, but the aggregate loss would be small in comparison with the cost of maintaining the policy of armed intervention.

In countries where there is an absolute breakdown of orderly government and the lives and property of the natives, as well as foreigners, are endangered, action by some duly constituted international body, such as the League of Nations or the Pan-American Union, may be desirable, but this would be a very different matter from irresponsible intervention by a single power. Temporary control of the finances of Austria by the League, for example, is a far more satisfactory way of helping to restore economic equilibrium than

to have the United States assume control of the customs and other sources of income in Haiti. Co-operative financial action by the United States, Mexico, and several other Latin American countries in case of chronic civil war in Nicaragua, for instance, would be far more desirable and effective than the continued use of our marines.

Abandonment of the dangerous policy of having our armed forces follow the dollar around the earth is the price of international friendship and peace.

Arbitration Gains

The consummation of an all-inclusive arbitration treaty between Belgium and Sweden, following the marriage of the royal son and daughter, may well cause wonder as to why this country can't do likewise with the other nations of the world. To be sure, we have no marriageable royalty, unless John Coolidge can be considered in the market. Nor are we less than a first-class power in a military and financial sense, which makes such moral ventures of less moment to us. But internationally the United States has played almost the role of an agitator for arbitration over many years; and why not now, when opinion is divided over the League and the Court, carry our traditional hope in arbitration to its logical outcome? The obvious next step in constructive foreign policy would be the negotiation of an all-inclusive treaty for arbitration with some other power (such as Britain) in which all disputes are justiciable and war between the signatories is outlawed for all time. The statesman who shows ability to sense this need and the determination to meet it boldly will find behind him thousands of wholehearted Americans who could unite on this as on no other policy of recent years.

"Drif—ting and Drea—ming"

No words could better characterize the government's absence of a program regarding coal than the title of the popular sob-song. The Coal Commission's report means nothing in Washington, nor does the fact that the bituminous mines are far too numerous, that the miners are inadequately paid and too irregularly employed, and that the soft coal industry seems headed for a strike on April 1 when a show-down may come. The operators say that they must cut wages to the level of non-union mines; and some of the smaller operators make out a good case for their contention that for them it is either cutting wages or going out of business. Mr. Lewis, however, can scarcely be questioned when he asserts that the miner's lot is already hard enough, when you consider his wage scale as compared to the other industries, and realize how perilous coal mining really is,—for instance, there were 2,510 deaths by accident in coal mines in the United States during 1926. If a strike comes to pass, it will not be easy for the miners. The non-union operators are eager to step into the breach and have already been producing 60% of the output; 85,000,000 tons of soft coal are stored above ground. Mr. Lewis has never been astute or daring enough to regulate his agreements so that anthracite and bituminous wage contracts would expire simultaneously, thus immeasurably to strengthen the unions. And while his old guard stand by him in the United Mine Workers and sing, ridiculously,

"We'll say with John L. Lewis
"We'll never take a backward step—"

the union's steam roller flattens out the progressive minority of competent and constructive program makers, led by such men as Powers Hapgood and John Brophy, while the journal of the "regulars" froths in the mouth about the "reds." Reds there are whose tactics would be harmful; but there is a strong minority by no means communist and which deals in a commodity too little regarded as yet in the labor world; namely,—brains. And labor's cause is too profoundly right to be held back because of jealousy within the ranks.

God

A German pastor during the World War:

"It is not we that are to blame, if in carrying out the bloody tasks of the war we are compelled to do also the duty of the hangman. The cold steel has been placed in the hands of the soldier. He is called upon to carry it without hesitation. He must run his bayonet into the ribs of the enemy. He must smash his rifle upon the enemy's skull. This is his holy duty. In that way he serves God."

Sir James Craig to Mr. Bridgman, First Lord of the Admiralty, after the naval bombardment of Wanhsien had killed or wounded thousands of Chinese:

"Go on. God bless you in your efforts to maintain in the highest state of efficiency—and in luxury, if need be—that arm of the Service on which Britain is bound to depend."

Mussolini after harsh suppressions and brutalities in the Tyrol ordered the following to take the place of the Lord's Prayer in the Tyrolian schools:

"Almighty God! Give prosperity and peace to our families. Give our King abundance of glory. Protect the Duce. May this be Your will!"

Major R. I. Tasker, M. P., refused an invitation to a public debate on disarmament with the following:

"Combat between living things seems to have been ordained by the Deity, and man's puny efforts to defeat the ordinance of the Creator must be in vain."

A God who wants skulls smashed with rifles, who blesses a luxurious navy for killing helpless Chinese, who gives glory and protection to ruthless oppressors, who has ordained eternal combat between men! What kind of God is this? Is it really the God of Jesus?

Asleep at the Switch

Why do the peace forces so frequently fail to awaken until a supreme crisis is upon them? Why not take a long look ahead? Why not, for example, act in time to avert the grave crisis which is sure to arise over the reparations-debt question within the next two years if present policies are continued?

A few days ago the World War Foreign Debt Commission of the United States went out of business. Having concluded funding agreements with thirteen debtor countries, all of which have been ratified save those with France and Jugo-Slavia, the commission was not re-established. Many American citizens will now exclaim: "Thank goodness, that's over!" Yes, it's all over—all over except the collection of the huge sums which will continue to fall due annually until the eighties of this century. Of course, the reparations question was settled three years ago when the Dawes Plan came into effect. That is, millions in this country think it was settled.

If our peace forces are deluded into believing that the reparations-debt problem has been solved, they will be exhibiting the same blindness which was revealed by their predecessors who vainly imagined that universal peace was about to dawn in 1913. There is enough dynamite in this combination of reparations and debts to blow the peace of the world into atoms during the next three decades if smouldering fires are allowed to burn.

The real test of the Dawes Plan does not come until the year beginning with September, 1928, when the heavy payments of 2,500,000,000 gold marks begin. Not only is there grave doubt whether it will be possible to collect this huge sum each year without crushing German industry, there is far more doubt about the possibility of transferring it to Allied countries even if it can be collected within Germany. Furthermore, there is doubt as to whether France and Great Britain can afford to be paid in goods as will ultimately be required. In all probability, drastic reductions will have to be made in the payments demanded of Germany. This reduction in turn will affect the Allies' ability to pay to the United States. The experts are warning us that it is wholly improbable that we shall ever collect the vast sums involved in the funding agreements. Moreover, resentment and hatred against this country are rapidly increasing in many parts of Europe.

Sooner or later this whole question of reparation and debts will have to be reopened,—and it makes all the difference in the world whether it is sooner rather than later. There is desperate need of an international conference to consider anew all phases of this complicated and menacing problem and to make necessary adjustments. If the peace forces of this country have any foresight, they will not dawdle along until confronted with an exceedingly grave international crisis, but will begin now to educate the country concerning the importance of this question and to urge our government to express a willingness to participate in an international conference to consider the whole problem in the light of all available evidence.

Primaries or Conventions?

General Charles G. Dawes. Chambers of Commerce. The National Industrial Council. General Harbord. General Reaction, also. Everybody, in fact, who is habitually on the side of conservative politics. All these are shouting in pious horror about the evils of the primary under the influence of machine politics. They ought to know if anybody does. But what do they offer as a substitute? An improved primary? Proportional representation? More real democracy? Not on your life. These gentlemen prefer—and who can blame them—the old convention system where money talks as vigorously, but inside sound proof chambers. In New Jersey the drive of the convention boosters has met, it seems, defeat, and may it come out similarly elsewhere. There is no cure for evil in going back to greater evils still.

When Militarists Get Gay

If anything compounded of more pristine subtlety has come out of our loud speaker in a year, we were absent on duty at the time. It was no less a wit than Major General James G. Harbord, head of the Radio Corporation of America, speaking on January 29, before a non-partisan (!) luncheon of the National Republican Club. He said with no more relish than we listened in:

"The reaction which in this country generally follows a war, and is manifested by paroxysms of pacifism and indifference if not hostility to the military establishment, has been aggravated by the activities of a great number of societies which are fairly well described by the term, 'up-lifters.' Their omnipresent and often pernicious efforts amount almost to a disease which might perhaps be called 'up-liftitis.' Its symptoms are feverish but misguided activity, much noise, extreme dryness in some places, local irritations, loss of memory and a sense of proportion.

The uplift idea of Hell is said to be a place where everybody has to mind his own business. In anticipation of such a limitation hereafter, there is no limit to their meddling in the present life. The disease is caused by a microbe generally disguised as a salaried executive secretary, finding its victims among those with too much income, the overfed and the underworked. . . .

They embarrass the President by agitating a proposition to arbitrate with a robber the disposition of the property he intends to confiscate. They get a resolution for new treaties passed, while everyone who knows the Far East knows that concessions made under pressure are interpreted as fear and weakness by all Orientals and that such action will cheapen American lives in China."

Can the Strike Be Replaced?

Central in labor's tactics for many years has been the strike. Many a substitute has been suggested both by employers and labor theorists, but few indeed have been the actual substitutions. Looking ahead, these labor leaders, all of practical experience but diversity of viewpoint, present their own reactions to our query.

I

By WILLIAM GREEN

President American Federation of Labor

NOTHING can replace the right to strike. But the use of that right will steadily decline as industries develop agencies to adjudicate grievances and provide joint machinery for dealing with the problems of the day's work and for planning developments on a basis of past experience. When once the principle of collective bargaining is recognized, terms and conditions of employment are lifted from the realm of strike to that of intelligent discussion around the conference table. Facts are the most telling arguments that can be laid upon this table. Where collective bargaining has been recognized workers have an incentive to find the facts of their experience. Such study soon leads to a vital principle—the interdependence of interests of all those concerned in industry. With the finding of this principle the basis for cooperation emerges.

In our unions experience under collective bargaining has led to various efforts to cooperate for the furtherance of reciprocal interests, with various more or less well-defined techniques of cooperation. This means, of course, continuous joint efforts on the part of management and employees to accomplish definite purposes. As the technique is developed, the results become increasingly satisfactory and the likelihood of strikes becomes correspondingly less. When there is an appeal to reason and discussion of facts, there is no excuse for an appeal to force. (By strengthening the hands of men of good will the power of those who benefit by underhand methods is restricted.)

The building up of these techniques of cooperation and of agencies for reaching decisions upon a basis of fact means the evolution of industrial justice. Thereby the traditions of peaceful methods are strengthened and restraints against unjustified resort to strikes are built up. Whether a further step may later be possible experience at the present time does not warrant us in prophesying.

II

By JOHN BROPHY

President of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America

THE strike is an instrument of freedom just as is the ballot. To deny or curb it by law today would mean a reversal to involuntary servitude, a step towards serfdom or chattel slavery.

It is no answer for those disapproving of the strike to say that there are times when the strike is abused. That may be true. The same is also true of the ballot. But no believer in the democratic idea would favor abolishing the ballot because of some measure of abuse.

The right to strike is a necessity in a society where the profit motive prevails. It is the right to rebel against low wages, unhealthful and dangerous working conditions, poor social life and the thwarting of the rightful desire of the worker to express himself as a free man. Under our present economic conditions, it is often the only channel through which the workers can be effectively heard. . . .

However, much can be done to reduce strikes to a minimum. First, through the actual as well as theoretical recognition on the part of the employers of the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively. Second, through the complete unionization of the workers in industry; and third, by the concession to workers of an increasing voice in the management and direction of industry as contemplated for railroad workers under the Plumb Plan, for miners under the plan of nationalization of the coal mines suggested some three years ago. With this there would rapidly develop a sense of social responsibility on the part of the union for the well being of the industry. . . . A well managed industry would be to the advantage of the workers and the public and the creative instinct would be developed instead of the combative. In this sense real industrial democracy will replace the strike because it will make the strike unnecessary.

In that direction lies social progress.

III

By JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

CAN anything replace the strike? No. The strike is a weapon which workers cannot give up without returning to slavery. If strikes should be forbidden by law there would be illegal strikes. Strikes may be broken through persecution and repression, but by no method can the strike be abolished.

A strong labor organization may avoid strikes. By impressing the employers with its strength and solidarity the union may be able to effect the settlement of a dispute without a strike. Also, in the case of a strong labor union, rarely otherwise, the employers enter into collective bargaining arrangements for dealing with industrial relations problems under definite rules agreed to by both sides. Where such arrangements are in effect the union calls no strikes. The union agrees not to exercise the right to strike so long as the accepted rules are adhered to. The employer, on his part, must not use his power as employer to make arbitrary decisions in matters affecting the workers. The union must have a voice in the making of such decisions.

The collective bargaining apparatus is often called Arbitration Machinery. This should not be confused with compulsory arbitration. Under the compulsory system the right to strike is forcibly taken away from the workers. That is entirely different from the voluntary agreement of the workers not to exercise for a given period their lawful right to strike.

In no case is the strike—the workers' *right* to strike—abandoned. Yet, no union, whatever its relations with the employers, calls a strike if that can be avoided. For a weak union the strike is the only means of defence, which, because of its weakness, it cannot always use; for a strong union, the strike is the last resort, which, because of its strength, it need not always have recourse to. Rules for negotiation and adjudication in capital-labor matters, such as prevail in the men's clothing industry, make it possible to employ the strike as a last resort only.

IV

By FRANK HODGES

Secretary Miners' International Federation

AMONG all rational people the strike is considered to be an evil thing. War is always an evil thing, and strikes are war. I do not accept the view that strikes are inevitable, any more than that wars are inevitable. If they were, we might well despair of ever directing the social forces by reason. If the causes of strikes and war could be eradicated, then industrial and international peace would evolve quite naturally.

I have unlimited faith in the beneficial effect of individual, industrial and international education as the sure means of reaching the higher planes of human and social relationships.

If we regard the strike as a legitimate, though barbaric, form of action for improving the lot of the industrial worker, then, in my judgment, it can be replaced with advantage by saner methods. If, however, it comes to be regarded as an instrument for waging class war, and in consequence colors the outlook of any considerable number of our citizens, it cannot, and will not, be replaced in this or the next generation.

The facts of industry prove beyond doubt that the instruments of negotiation, conciliation, and voluntary arbitration, with strong trade union organizations in the background, and with their leaders morally and intellectually equipped with authority and knowledge, yield greater and more permanent economic and social advantages for the workmen than the strike.

The strike is a weapon which must not be given up entirely. The right to withdraw labor in order to secure justice when all other means have failed must be inviolable. But the other means are numerous and capable of yielding justice, and of these I pin my faith on the method of voluntary arbitration in industry.

If the moral authority of the arbitrating tribunal be unquestioned, ninety per cent of the industrial conflicts would be avoided. This would be a gigantic step forward in a world where reason is struggling to dethrone force. Within these limitations my answer is unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

V

By MARGARET G. BONDFIELD

Labor Member of Parliament

CAN anything replace the strike? Yes, as soon as society has found some method of replacing the lock-out. What *is* a strike? A strike is a stoppage caused by workers insisting upon some change and trying to compel employers to concede something to them. A lock-out is a stoppage caused by employers insisting upon workmen accepting some change and refusing to let them go on with their work under the conditions which previously existed.

Under these definitions, contrary to generally accepted belief, there have been singularly few strikes in Great Britain during recent years. There have been thousands of instances of lock-outs caused by the "long hours and low wages" policy adopted by British employers.

Is it desirable to replace strikes? On the whole,

yes, though I believe that there will always be, under some great emotional movement or some strong sense of injustice which will move bodies of men simultaneously to stop work. It may be the only possible way by which public attention can be arrested and the public conscience shocked into realization of the conditions complained of. Well devised and acceptable methods of conciliation and arbitration might operate effectively in time to prevent a stoppage of work or to bring the stoppage to an end at the earliest possible moment on a basis of justice and fair play. To deal with these matters on a mere basis of authority might result in establishing industrial conscription for the time being, but the repercussions of any such attempt to impose economic slavery would be so great that the authority which so abused its powers would be very quickly overthrown.

Therefore it behooves all, and especially those who live on the labor of others, to win from the workers a consciousness of consent to the conditions of their working lives—so only can industrial unrest be abolished and the strike cease to be a matter for alarm, because the cause for prolonged stoppages will be removed.

VI

By LEON JOUHAUX

President of the French General Confederation of Labor

IN the program of organized labor the strike can be considered only as an extreme measure to which there should be no recourse until all peaceful means for securing the demands of the workers have been exhausted.

Is it possible to avoid it entirely? to substitute for this method of open force, always troublesome and frequently dangerous, new methods?

The question has often been asked. It has never received a satisfactory answer.

Compulsory arbitration, tried, has never come up to the expectations of its sponsors. It can avert minor conflicts, but it cannot prevent strikes and lockouts of greater proportions.

It is, I believe, a mistake to compare arbitration of disputes which arise between workers and employers to those which arise between nations. The comparison is not only incorrect—for a strike is not war—but leads to erroneous conclusions. For arbitration among nations has as its chief object the maintenance of the *status quo*. As to the problem of social relations which the strike raises, there is no *status quo* possible, because workers cannot concede that labor has achieved the place rightfully belonging to it. That is the real reason underlying the failure of compulsory arbitration.

Well, what do?

For me there is no single and definite solution. There are only a certain number of measures, varying according to the industry, whose employment will make strikes less frequent and less disastrous. The organization of workers and employers in joint committees to discuss working conditions and wages has already given some very satisfactory results. But it is an insufficient step toward the goal of peaceful settlements. Agreements must be reached in the very heart of industry in order to realize what our American comrades so expressively call industrial democracy.

But this cannot be achieved without complete freedom of action for the unions and the unqualified recognition of the union's rights by the employers.

VII

By EDO FIMMEN

Secretary International Transport Workers' Federation

CAN anything replace the strike? No!—You might as well ask: "Can an army fight without weapons?", which is an equally silly question.

The strike, if not the only weapon, is in 99 cases out of 100 the strongest and most efficient the working class can use in its struggle to improve or maintain conditions, and above all in its fight for political and economic emancipation. The workers dare not renounce this weapon unless they wish to deliver themselves bound hand and foot to their enemy, the nationally and internationally strongly organized employing class.

All proposals for supplanting the strike are so many carefully planned endeavors to rob the workers of their strongest weapon, and to protect the individual employer and the State (which is the employer's State, over which he rules as Lord and Master, and in which the worker, despite all talk of political equality, is an exploited slave). . . .

Can boards of conciliation, joint committees or agencies for compulsory arbitration be expected to dispense justice between spoiler and spoiled, between robber and robbed, between swindler and dupe, or between the highwayman and his victim? Whatever the findings or verdicts, we know that part of the spoils will be left to the thief. Though they may occasionally give an award completely in favor of the workers, they are nevertheless institutions inimical to the working class, because their very basis is a recognition of the employing class and its right to exploit.

There is, perhaps, one thing that might, in certain circumstances, . . . replace the strike, and that is the armed revolt. Even this is no real substitute. For if the workers are to make armed resistance to the

armed forces of the bourgeois State, to the bepistoled Pinkertons and the Fascist auxiliary troops of the employers, they will first have to leave their factories, their mines, and their ships—that is to say come out on strike.

Can anything replace the strike? NO!

VIII

By GUSTAV DABRINGHAUS

Member Krupp's Workers' Council

EVERY strike is a two-edged sword. For this reason trade unions resort to it only as an extreme measure. Those who do not want strikes must eliminate their causes.

The oppressed and enslaved masses of yesterday are today a power, well-organized in part, which understands its legal position and is convinced of the ethical justification of the strike. This compels the leaders of industry to meet their employees halfway. Industrial absolutism is today not only unjust, but also impossible.

For that reason there must be workers' councils in the factories. . . . Grievances constantly arise concerning the hours of work, the rate of payment, adequate safeguards against accidents, sanitary conditions, etc. Therefore the worker needs *his* representatives. *These representatives must be protected by law against the arbitrariness and caprice of the individual employer.* An experiment in this direction was made by the German Workers' Council Law of February 4, 1920.

An urgent need is also the creation of boards of arbitration. These should be composed of employers and workers, while parliament represents the public. Before any (great) strike or lockout this body must attempt a settlement. . . .

But even with the greatest confidence in the impartiality of such a body, strikes will continue. But their causes can be increasingly removed. *And the prime cause is the profit-seeking basis of capitalist economics.*

Compulsory measures can never permanently prevent strikes so long as industry follows other than ethical laws. The good will of the individual employer . . . cannot remove industrial warfare. Krupp, for example, before the war sponsored a great number of excellent social practices, known as Welfare Work (Wohlfahrtsfirma). But when, after the war, he lost his state monopoly, these practices were sacrificed in the sharp competition that followed.

Strong labor organizations supply the motor power for the technical and social betterment of the world. To give to these their rightful place in our economic life will do much to replace the strike.

IX

By TOYOHIKO KAGAWA

Socialist and labor leader in Japan

AS long as laborers have to sell their labor to their employers the strike can never be replaced, because the strike means "refusal to sell." Therefore if we want to eliminate the strike we have to reorganize industry so that the workingmen have no need to sell their labor. The only way to industrial peace is to organize the factory system in quite another way so that the laborers can work and enjoy their labor with free will and whole-hearted purpose. The workingman is not a working-machine. Unless we organize the industrial system on a more personal basis and give the workingman the opportunity to find his life-purpose in his work, humankind will never be satisfied, and the strike will always continue. When a person finds in his work his life-purpose, how can there be any need for striking?

The producers' co-operative guild is one way to get rid of the strike. Probably every intelligent person will smile when I say such a thing; for the history of the producers' co-operatives is a story of sad failures. But I have no reason to despair of this movement. It had to carry on a bitter struggle against modern capitalism. If the consumers' co-operatives will make more progress in the industrial field, there will be a more hopeful future for them. I was told that in the history of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in England there were only two strikes among their workingmen. If we could bring closer the producers' and the consumers' co-operatives, I see no reasons why we should have so many strikes.

Violence in Labor Conflicts

STUART CHASE

I

ON a midsummer night in 1877 the citizens of Baltimore were awakened by a wild ringing of bells. Not since the first days of the Civil War had the unearthly peal of the militia call-to-arms sounded through the city. Strikers had taken possession of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad station, and the Fifth and Sixth Regiments of the Maryland National Guard were marching against them. But so resolutely were they entrenched, and so hostile were the city workers who supported them, that the general alarm was rung for reinforcements. The city trembled with terror and excitement.

The Sixth Regiment, finding its advance on the station blocked by hostile workers, closed ranks and suddenly, horribly, fired a volley into the massed crowd. Instead of plunging to cover, the crowd charged the troops, and tried to wrench the guns from their hands, only to be met by volley after volley. Slowly the regiment fought its way to the station, leaving dead and wounded guardsmen to mark its advance. The station was captured—only for the militia men to find themselves surrounded and cut off by ever increasing numbers of strikers and their sympathizers. A frantic telegram for help was sent to Washington. General Barry with a detachment of regulars, supported by artillery, finally relieved the militiamen, and also captured and imprisoned fifty strikers.

By this time Washington was almost as frightened as Baltimore. The Cabinet convened and decided "that no further depletion of the military and naval forces at the capital ought to be made." Two companies of marines marching to entrain for the strike area had been hissed and jeered by street crowds in Washington. The warships *Swatara* and *Powhattan* were directed to bring additional troops from Norfolk to the capital; the iron-clads *Washington* and *Philadelphia* were ordered to prepare for instant service; plans were laid for the defense of the Treasury.

By this time Pennsylvania was aflame. The Baltimore and Ohio strike was caused by a 10 per cent wage cut—the third cut in three years. The Pennsylvania Railroad had cut wages in June, and was about to promulgate an order doubling the number of freight cars to be handled by the same crew of men. This meant wholesale reductions in the working force. The men struck—a day or two after the Baltimore battle. State troops gathering in Pittsburgh set out to arrest the strike leaders. Their way was blocked by the crowd. The sheriff read the riot act. The troops fired into the mob, whereupon the strikers attacked the troops. Some of the local militia men joined the strikers. The battle was general and bloody. During the day strikers broke into stores and carried off $100,000 worth of guns, pistols, swords and knives.

The state troops were finally beleaguered in a railroad round house. The strikers bombarded them with two pieces of captured artillery. Making a breach in the walls, they attacked in force, only to be cut down by the concentrated fire of the troops. Next the besiegers sent cars of oil-soaked coke down the tracks toward the round house, and finally set it on fire. The troops retreated with heavy losses across the Allegheny River to Claremont, twelve miles away. Two round houses, 1,600 cars and 125 locomotives were destroyed.

In Reading the whole Sixteenth Regiment—largely composed of Irish workers—went over to the strikers, following a violent battle in the streets. In St. Louis a committee of strikers took possession of the city government for a week. They were finally dislodged by a combined force of infantry, cavalry and artillery. In Chicago there was a pitched battle between federal troops and strikers at the Halsted Street viaduct. Here the railroad companies finally acceded to the strikers' demands, and the city council appropriated $500,000 for public improvements to provide work for the unemployed.

So went the summer of 1877, the bloodiest year in the history of American labor conflicts. The revolt was that of American workers. There were no "immigrants," "foreigners," "orders from Moscow," in the picture at all. The basic causes were to be found in the terrible conditions which followed the financial panic of 1873, and in the tradition of organized fighting left from the Civil War. The unemployed were estimated at 3,000,000 in 1877, and the death of workers from starvation was a familiar item in the day's news.

II

DOWN the river to Homestead comes a boat. It is early morning in the summer of 1892. Aboard the boat are 300 Pinkerton gun-men. They are coming to defend "Fort Frick," the works of the Carnegie Steel Company, now surrounded by a barricade three miles in length, fifteen feet high and covered with barbed wire. The boat steams nearer. Pickets of the locked-out steel workers give the alarm. Within a few

minutes the water front is crowded with hatless and coatless men, rifles in their hands. The Pinkertons point their guns. There is a moment of intense suspense. Then a shot rings out from the boat, and a steel worker falls mortally wounded on the ground. A yell of fury goes up from the crowd on the bank, and their rifles bark almost in unison. The Pinkertons answer with a hail of lead. Leaders try to stop the fire of the workers, but the men are beyond control. The battle is general for more than an hour. The Pinkertons are surrounded, and finally surrender. They are imprisoned in a skating rink, but in the night the strikers send them out of town on a train. Twenty-four are dead, and as many seriously wounded following this day's work. Said the Senate Investigating Committee:

> "Your Committee is of the opinion that the employment of armed guards at Homestead was unnecessary. There is no evidence that the slightest damage was done, or attempted to be done, to property on the part of the strikers. . . . It was claimed by the Pinkerton Agency that their men shall be sworn in as deputy sheriffs, but the fact was admitted on all sides that the armed men supplied by the Pinkertons were not so sworn, and that as private citizens acting under direction of such of their own men as were in command, they fired upon the people of Homestead, killing and wounding a number. . . . Such a use of private armed men is an assumption of the States' authority. . . ."

The Carnegie Steel Company had locked out its workers, built its barricade, and sent for the Pinkertons, on the rejection by the union of a proposed wage cut.

III

MOTHER JONES is getting off the train at Paint Creek station in the coal mountains of West Virginia. A brakeman has just told her that it will mean death to mix into the bloody war that has been raging between the miners and the gunmen of mine owners along Cabin and Paint Creeks. A little boy runs up to her on the station plaform:

"Oh, Mother Jones! did you come to stay with us?"

"Yes, my lad, I've come to stay."

A mine guard, armed to the teeth, is listening.

"You have?" says the guard.

"I have," says Mother Jones.

The little boy throws his arms around her knees.

"Oh, Mother, Mother, they drove my papa away and we don't know where he is, and they threw my mama and all of us out of the house, and they beat my mama and they beat me. See, Mother, I'm sore where the gunmen hit me," and he pulls down his cotton shirt and shows his shoulder black with bruises.

"The gunmen did that?"

"Yes, and my mama's worse than that, worse . . ." Suddenly he begins to scream. "The gunmen! the gunmen! When I'm a man I'm going to kill twenty gunmen for hurting my mama! I'm going to kill them dead—all dead!"

Mother Jones travels up and down the Creek, rousing the spirit of the miners. She organizes 3,000 of them who secretly march, fully armed, over the hills to Charleston, where she lays the case before Governor Glasscock on the steps of the capitol. She gives him twenty-four hours in which to get the gunmen out of the strike area. Failing that the strikers' army will go on the loose. The Governor is very frightened and sends in the state militia to oust the company gunmen from the Creeks.

Two years later she is in Ludlow, Colorado. Mr. Rockefeller's miners are on strike. He is bringing in Mexicans to work in their places. On the 19th of April, 1914, the same machine guns which had killed miners in Paint Creek are leveled on the strikers' tent colony. Two militia officers are in charge of the guns —Major Pat Hamrock and Lieutenant K. E. Linderfelt—but the majority of the men were company gunmen sworn in as soldiers. The major demands the surrender of two strikers. The strikers ask for a warrant. There are no warrants. The two men are not given up, and the soldiers return to their line. A signal bomb is fired and the machine guns begin to spray a horizontal sheet of lead through the tented colony. All day long the firing continues. A little boy is shot through the head trying to save his kitten. A child carrying water to his dying mother is killed. The strike leader, Louis Tikas, is riddled with bullets as he tries to lead women and children to safety. The women and children die with him.

But the miners who still live are fighting back—trying to cover the retreat of the others. In the night, the soldiers set fire to the bullet-riddled tents with oil-soaked torches. Coils of barbed wire are stuffed into the well which furnishes the strikers' only water supply. When the survivors creep back later to bury their dead, they find the charred and unrecognizable bodies of eleven little children in a dugout under a burned tent.

Men sprang to arms through the district pledged to redeem this bloody deed in blood. A delegation went to see President Wilson, among them a woman whose three babies had been burned to death in the Black Hole of Ludlow. President Wilson sent United States cavalry to quell the gunmen of Mr. Rockefeller's company. They were not quelled, however.

IV

HERE is a happier tale. Shortly after the Civil War the Scotch and English miners of Arnot, Pennsylvania, formed a union. Their employers were at first excessively pained, then excessively angry. To break the union, the employers imported a detachment

of 700 Swedes. The Swedes came marching into town, only to be met by a harangue in their own language. After prodigious search, the union had located a man who could talk Swedish, and had prepared a speech for him to deliver. He must have possessed a silver tongue, for inside of an hour he had the 700 Swedes marching back the way they had come with a Scotch miner blowing his heart into his bagpipes at the head of the procession!

These were the days (1869) when the great Koopmanschap was importing Chinese laborers at so much a head, and farming them out to employers with obstreperous workers. Workers struck for an 8 hour day in San Francisco woolen mills. Their wages had been $3.00 a day. They were replaced in toto by coolies at $1.00 a day. A shoe manufacturer in North Adams, Massachusetts, manned his factory with Chinese to break up the union. He kept them in barracks within his factory gates for years. "These Celestials," wrote the *Boston Commonwealth,* "belong to no striking organization, don't worry about their pay, and do not presume to dictate to their employers." As they needed no new clothes and ate hardly anything, they almost achieved the capitalist's standard for the ideal worker.

V

MAY 1, 1886, was the first Labor Day. It was neither a quiet day nor a quiet year. Mayors of cities did not don tall hats in honor of working men; nor did Chambers of Commerce—or whatever they called them then—pass polite resolutions announcing the dignity of labor. The best that one could expect from either public official or captain of industry, in those days, was a string of oaths. The Knights of Labor boys were on the war path. They were on the war path for the same reason that always leads workers to take the offensive—conditions so intolerable that life was not worth the living.

The dreadful eighties saw the rise of the trusts to power; an enormous displacement of American workers by machinery and by the stream of immigrant labor which the trusts fostered; a forcing down of wage levels; increased hours; and a great influx of children into the mines and the mills ("at Harmony Mills, Cohoes, N. Y., children were flogged with leather straps if they could not keep up the pace required"). In brief, the practical men who in swivel chairs control the destinies of the Republic—were sitting pretty, as the saying goes.

But from July, 1885, to July, 1886, the Knights of Labor increased their membership from 104,000 to 703,000. "The movement bore in every way the aspect of a social war," writes Commons. "A frenzied hatred of labor for capital was shown in every important strike. . . . Extreme bitterness toward capital manifested itself in all the actions of the Knights of Labor, and wherever the leaders undertook to hold it within bounds they were generally discarded by their followers, and others who would lead as directed were placed in charge."

Reaction breeds action. Mass action. With the swallowing up of the last of the public lands by the great corporations "American labor was," to quote Commons again, "now permanently shut up in the wage system." It was not shut up without a struggle. The militancy of the workers led by the Knights of Labor was only exceeded by the militancy of the government. A series of great strikes in which violence was the accepted technique culminated in the nation-wide eight-hour demonstrations and stoppages which marked the first Labor Day—40 years ago. General Phil Sheridan confers with the Secretary of War on the danger of "entire cities being destroyed by the infuriated populace." General Sherman, Chief of Staff of the Army, declares: "There will soon come an armed contest between Capital and Labor. They will oppose each other not with words and arguments and ballots, but with shot and shell, gunpowder and cannon. The better classes are tired of the insane howlings of the lower strata, and they mean to stop them." It took some time to stop them, but Sherman was right.

The *Chicago Times* argued that "hand grenades should be thrown among those who are striving to obtain higher wages." To which a furious labor editor replied: "God speed the day that hand grenades will be thrown among honest men. . . . That day would be the dawn of deliverance for enslaved labor." Both sides specialized in the military tactics of street fighting. The Chicago Anarchist Riots were the climax of this bloody and turbulent decade.

VI

IN 1836, the tailors were on strike in New York City. Not one of them talked like Mr. Milt Gross. They were old line Americans and their spokesmen at least used beautiful English. Here is an appeal for aid dispatched to the Journeymen Tailors' Society of Philadelphia:

> "We have been on a stand-out against a reduction of wages since the 23rd of January last; the attempt by our would-be 'Masters' to reduce our wages commenced in the middle of an inclement and unusually tedious winter when provisions, fuel, and every domestic requisite, rose to an unprecedented price hitherto unknown in the City of New York.
>
> "Such was the period chosen by our tyrant employers to attempt to crush us. Not satisfied with attempting to starve us into compliance, they have brought to the aid of their unhallowed purpose the petty minions of the law. Those minions, clothed with authority, have insulted and knocked down some of our members in the public streets,

and dragged them like common felons to the police office.

"To be brief—five and twenty of our members are arraigned and are to be tried on Friday next, for combination, conspiracy, and God knows what else!"

In December, 1926, ninety years later, the paper box makers are on strike in New York City. They, too, are predominantly an American group. The "petty minions of the law" are still on the job. One striker says that his front teeth were knocked out by a blow from a policeman. A girl was badly hurt when an officer struck her with a chair. Two men assert that they were arrested and fined on trumped-up charges. An orderly line of pickets—girls of high school age—was broken up, and one girl severely beaten. All this within two blocks of Broadway.

. . . Violence in 1836, violence in 1926, and violence in every year between—though never perhaps on quite such a gorgeous scale as the bloody years of 1877 and 1886. As conquerors of a continent, we Americans are a violent people. And never have our labor conflicts been more violent than when captained and manned by Americans. We have not followed theories or doctrines or systems to any great extent, but when the shoe has pinched we have not been loath to go out and "sock somebody on the jaw." To which the "sockee" has replied with the utmost enthusiasm and vigor. On the whole it would appear that the employer, through his gunmen or his government, has the more often started the actual fisticuffs. Up to comparatively recently a stoppage of work has been held a *casus belli*—impious and blasphemous, and violently to be put down. But after the first shot, there is little to choose between the belligerency of the parties.

I see no slackening in the curve—broadly speaking. Violence per capita may be somewhat less since the great railroad strikes of 1922, but those of us who have followed Passaic and Herrin and the New York fur and garment strikes—all conducted in the piping times of prosperity—cannot somehow feel the full weight of that brotherly hand-clasp now said to be taking place between capital and labor.

Why Violence?

HARRY F. WARD

PART of the violence that reddens the record of our industrial development must be charged off to the general account of the American manner of living. It belongs with our excessive murders, lynchings, tar-and-featherings, beatings-up—and springs from the same root. That it is a general characteristic is demonstrated by the fact that it is practiced by the forces of capital and by public authorities as well as by labor, which so many people—newspaper-educated—naively believe to be solely responsible.

Our less serious industrial violence is both spontaneous and planned. When an unorganized mass strike suddenly breaks, especially among women workers, there is often some small damage to property in the workroom as they leave. This seldom occurs in strikes planned and led by unions. Its appearance and its amount are in ratio to the character of the grievance and the response of the management to complaint. It is the explosion of pent-up emotion that has been denied normal outlet. The provision of a constitutional process for the handling of industrial disputes, in which the workers have due place and part, infallibly prevents this type of violence.

A more serious, spontaneous combustion usually occurs when there is strike-breaking. It may not develop when some workers refuse to quit; it is likely to happen if some are persuaded by the management to return; it is almost sure to appear when strike breakers are brought in from the outside, especially if these are furnished by some agency which provides for that purpose the unfortunate dregs of our cities. The fear and brutishness of such victims and their guards, the revival among the strikers of man's ancient animus against the outlander, on top of the other primitive passions already aroused, make some explosion inevitable, unless exceptional discipline prevails. Hence attempts to prevent by law inter-state transportation of strike breakers.

With this factor removed, there is yet in the situation occasion enough for violence. The stone-throwing, the pommelling, the hair-pulling and face-slapping, which in strikes of women workers have been sufficient evidence of violence to secure an injunction for the employers, are usually worked up to by the calling of "scab." This term manifestly has a powerful emotional content. It abhors treachery and invokes loyalty—even more effectively than "pro-German" did in 1917. It brings to the surface for a moment the class consciousness of those who do not know what that term means. (I have known strike leaders to have much more trouble in restraining neighborhood sympathizers than their own disciplined followers.) It conjures into action something older and stronger than man—the mother spirit made demoniac by seeing others take the bread its children need. In such emergency, refined people for the most part do vio-

lence indirectly and vicariously—by courts, police, armies and navies. The more primitive workers do it personally and directly.

These powerful impulses are undoubtedly rationalized in the organized man-handling of strike-breakers, by "education" or "entertainment" committees. This technique is more used in the earlier stages of unions when the natural belligerency of youth is accentuated by opposition from employers. It takes a more extreme form in unions where there is a large proportion of men not tied down by home and family responsibilities. It appears again in the later stages of unions when there is a contest for control between old and rising bosses or between an intrenched machine and insurgent elements. Then we sometimes see gangsters and gunmen, beating and shooting, as the tactics of an internecine labor war.

Gangs that fight the police can and do supply the thugs, and if need be the killers, for the corrupt political machines, of which in several cities an equally corrupt labor machine has sometimes been a cog. Thus is government made; and when it is organized by violence, inevitably on occasions it is violently administered. The brutality of the police and of deputy sheriffs in clubbing and riding down pickets and strikers has of late been on the increase. This makes all the more remarkable the achievements in labor discipline that made the Steel Strike in 1919 and the recent struggle in Passaic almost completely pacific in spite of the most brutal assaults upon the workers by officers of the law.

IN those historic scenes when our industrial warfare has resulted in serious loss of life, the factor of official violence on the grand scale, or else a similar exhibition on the part of private armed forces, appears. In these battles labor suffered the heavier casualties and seldom started the killing. A prominent economist told me that he had never investigated a strike in which the violence had not been started from the employer's side. That has been my own experience. Sometimes this is deliberate, more often accidental as an incident, but inevitable as the result of policies pursued. The responsibility for an explosion in one of our historic strikes has long been a moot question. "I tell you I know the union leaders did it," an attorney for the corporation, who had taken enough wine to be talkative, insisted to a friend of mine. "But how do you know?" "I, myself, paid them $25,000 to do it."

The work of the under-cover man as *agent provocateur* brings in still another motivation. From the railroad strike of 1894 to the recent Passaic struggle, his sinister figure appears in most of our industrial battles. Like his forerunner in the revolutionary struggles of Europe, he moves in such mystery that it is sometimes as impossible for the historian to discover in what capacity he is really operating as it was for labor at the time. But it is certain that much of the violence of our industrial warfare must be charged to his account, designed either to call forth a similar reaction from labor, to bring in the authorities, or to evoke public condemnation. The necessity of holding his job and his professional pride constantly lead the under-cover man to incite or create that which he is paid to discover. If the state is going to permit this man to continue his calling, it should license him as manufacturer of violence.

In most cases, however, loss of life in labor wars occurs without premeditation. It follows in a chain of circumstances which repeat themselves in the same order every time occurring unerringly in the Orient as it becomes industrialized. A serious strike occurs. Owners or managers bring armed forces, private or public, to protect their property and themselves. Somebody through fear or incompetence fires or orders the first shot; then the furies of battle are let loose. The effect of this first shot is like that of the murder at Serajevo. It sets off a powder magazine that has long been piling up. These scenes have mostly been laid in steel towns or mining camps, where life is without the restraint of refinement, where impersonal administration and absentee ownership have developed their worst features—high profits, low wages, tyran-

nical management, prevention of labor organization, refusal to listen to grievances, repression of the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly. An act of violence from the employing side is the spark that sets off the accumulated resentment. Then come reprisals, progressively developed, and the final supreme violence by the forces of law and order. The record shows that the initial act and the progression of events that follow occur inevitably when private armed forces are employed, less certainly when the militia is called in, least of all when federal troops are in charge. This is partly because of the various degrees of experience and restraint, partly also because of the difference of interest and therefore of partiality, creating in each case a different emotional attitude in the ranks of labor. In one strike in a mid-western manufacturing city, the employers requested the mayor for special protection. He promised it. Then he called in the union leaders, appointed them special constables and said, "You are responsible for law and order." They accepted the trust and the community did not suffer violence.

All authorities agree that the presence in an industrial community of gunmen, furnished by private agencies, and frequently deputized by county or state, either as constant guards or as an emergency force, is an infallible precursor of violence. Such forces are composed in part of soldiers of fortune, but mostly of denizens of the underworld and habitual criminals. The reason for the fear and hate which their coming excites in the ranks of labor is written all over the records of courts, congressional committees, mediation boards and Department of Labor investigations. Yet the United States continues to enjoy the distinction of being the only country in the world which permits private warfare to be carried on by private armies furnished and equipped by legitimate business agencies—as it is also the only civilized country where firearms, including machine guns, can be freely and irresponsibly purchased, with the Government even facilitating the evasion of limiting statutes by delivering weapons through the mail. There is thus a vested interest in violence. This fact, along with its relation to some of our largest industries, explains why all attempts to outlaw the business of supplying private armies for industrial warfare have so far failed. The worst of our violence could be prevented by stopping the supply of armed forces and deadly weapons to industrial disputants.

SIMILAR causes of war operate in both the industrial and international fields. They are: policies and acts of injustice; the lack of constitutional methods to adjust the disputes these engender; the building up of defensive armament. Then there are initial explosive acts of violence, projected into an atmosphere of insecurity. The law of causation seems to be that violence occurs in direct ratio to the amount of injustice, the absence of means of judicial settlement, the degree of preparedness both physical and emotional, the amount and kind of repression.

Violence in a civilized community is always reaction to some peril, real or imagined. Behind it is fear. In the industrial conflict violence registers the fear of the worker for his livelihood, of the owner for his property and his business. Often deceived by the spies he hires through fear of union domination, as governments are misled by their secret service, the employer is drawn on to hire guards to protect his property, then war breaks and behind the lust of battle—the reverse side of the will to win—is the fear of losing, leading ever in the direction of more violence. The lessening of restraints in the use of force is in proportion to the degree of insecurity. The long road away from violence lies through the development of security in the means of livelihood and development for all the population, through the setting up of constitutional procedure for the control of industry, through its organization for functional purposes instead of for moneymaking.

THERE remains the question of violence as a philosophy. So far this has had small place in the American industrial scene. Industrially as internationally, we have on occasion acted violently but our philosophy of life, so far as we have had one, has been pacific. Our two outstanding cases of planned violence were the shooting of Frick by Berkman and the dynamiting conspiracy of the Macnamara brothers. The former was the result of the doctrine of the force school of anarchism that private vengeance for social wrongs is an agent of progress. The latter was the rat-in-the-corner reaction of men who saw their union about to be destroyed, as all others had been, by the effective anti-labor policy of United States Steel.

In its early days the leaders of the I. W. W. held for a while that any means to help labor were justified. Also they played for a time with the French idea of sabotage in the form of injury to the employer by damage to property. Afterward the organization, which has paid heavily for this early episode, outlawed sabotage and violence, and forbade its members to carry and use weapons. Its later history of non-violence in the face of the extremest provocation—like the similar phenomena of the Steel Strike and of Passaic—shows that labor can be disciplined away from violence by the power of an idea. This tactic is purely pragmatic, based on realization of the fact that violence "doesn't get us anywhere." Now it must meet the communist doctrine, hammered out of the experience of repression and foreign-aided, counter-revolution in Russia, which asserts that capital will never permit the trans-

formation of the social order by constitutional means and that labor must therefore prepare itself in attitude and tactics for "the day." Again, as with all preparedness, fear can be seen lurking in the background. Trotzky's brilliant "defense of terrorism"—the word has a double meaning—can only be answered by the demonstration that the fear of counter-revolution against change constitutionally secured is unjustified. Can the democratic state be used as one of the chief tools in transforming the economic order into an intelligently co-ordinated set of functions, directed toward the realization of consciously chosen values? If men are to go on seeking their bread blindly, in a tempest of conflicting interests, there must ensue increasing violence between nations and races, between antagonistic groups within the nations. If the basic conflict between industry and agriculture cannot be eliminated by the development of an integrated social economy, violence will develop in the agrarian field as it has in the past, and did recently in Russia, where the industrial conflict has been almost eliminated.

In this situation, how is the state to be used? If it is to be the protector of capitalism—which one judge recently declared to be its function—it will become the chief creator of the violence which it is organized to prevent. For it will then decree that the changes which are technically necessary and socially inevitable must be sought by force. If the state is to be used illegally, as the report of one hundred distinguished lawyers concerning the activities of the Department of Justice against radicalism declare it has been used; if its officers are to be employed, as they have been and are in certain States, to prevent workers from exercising their constitutional right of free speech and assembly; if the State against its own constitution or law is to go on issuing deputy commissions to privately paid gunmen; if in strikes the militia is to be leased by governors to heavy subscribers to campaign funds or to personal friends—then all hope of orderly change vanishes. The state having become anarchic, the foundations of law are destroyed; there remains only primitive force. From the law of violence above set forth it can be predicted that in such a situation the forces rising next in the social scale will use the state with the same degree of severity and partiality with which it has been used against them.

Thus it appears that the chief potential cause of violence in American industrialism is the tendency to use the state to obstruct changes in an inequitable property system and in a wasteful and strife-making method of production and distribution, which together compose the subsoil that holds the tap root of conflict.

Can the Strike Be Justified?

Yes

GEORGE SOULE

I ASSUME that the ideal of open-minded persons is a social order operated for the common good, by the consent of its members. That it is, in other words, a society co-operative in essence. I also assume that our present social order is not of this type, except in partial aspects and limited relationships. Upon these two assumptions rests the justification of the strike.

Few would admit that an individual should be forced to bend to the will of another individual who has superior power. Two business men meet to negotiate a contract. One sees that the terms offered by the other are unfavorable to him. He therefore refuses to sign the contract. He insists that any relationship be co-operative and equitable; if equitable terms are not offered, he refuses to co-operate. Such refusals go on constantly in the economic world, and it is on this basis that any approach to fairness and co-operation is maintained. Fairness is likely to be denied and co-operation to be negatived when one party has more to lose by refusal than the other. The ability to consent is conditioned by the ability to refuse to consent.

An individual workman dealing with an employer has a theoretical right to bargain in this way and so to maintain his independence. But as a matter of fact his bargaining power is inferior to that of the employer, for numerous reasons. Equality of bargaining power is approached only when the workmen combine and deal collectively. Then they are in a better position to decline to co-operate, and consequently to co-operate, if the terms offered seem fair. A strike is merely a collective refusal to co-operate. Since individual workmen are rarely in a position effectively to refuse co-operation, the possibility of a collective refusal, or a strike, is really the basis for such co-operation as may exist in the employer-employee relationship.

Industry as organized today is highly interdependent. The prosperity of one industry is largely dependent on the prosperity of others. The policy of one business concern is to some extent limited by the policies of competitors. There is a certain amount of interdependence between the interests of employers and employees and between the interests of these classes and those of consumers, merchants, bankers and others.

Such a situation necessarily offers the opportunity for the dominance of persons in strategic positions.

Because of the necessities of others, the strategically placed persons can often compel the assent of those dependent upon them. Whenever this occurs, it is the opposite of co-operation. But such a situation also offers the possibility of co-operative organization, if the several groups and individuals can be placed in position to decline to co-operate.

The technical integration of the economic world must be matched by co-operative control. The only way for employees to prepare for their share in co-operation is to organize for it, and to organize in such a way as to be able to withdraw co-operation. The ordinary relationship between employer and unorganized employees involves little element of considered consent on the part of the latter, but is simple domination by the more powerful.

TO say that the strike is justified is by no means to say that every strike is justified. If the objective can be won without a strike, or if the objective is either unjust to society in general or is illusory and impossible, the strike may be as deplorable as any other refusal to co-operate which is based on inadequate grounds. But it is one thing to disapprove specific strikes, and quite the opposite thing to disapprove strikes in general. To disapprove strikes in general is necessarily to disapprove all forms of organized, non-co-operation, such as that proposed by Gandhi in India, or that proposed by an agreement of conscientious objectors not to take part in war.

Because it is fundamental that a group of workers cannot co-operate unless they can refuse to co-operate, there is a fundamental weakness in company union or employee representation schemes, wherein the workers have no power to strike.

It may be admitted that the strike is a negative and primitive weapon. A group of workers which simply consents not to strike, in return for certain agreed conditions, is furnishing only a negative form of co-operation. This is the first and essential step in building a co-operative society, but it is not the last. A union, having gone so far, may further agree to furnish positive co-operation in improving production, in return for certain further concessions on the part of management. This is a logical development of collective bargaining, in the co-operative direction. But it cannot be made except by a genuine union, which has the power to withdraw co-operation altogether. Otherwise there is implied coercion at the basis of the relationship.

There are those who believe that the workers should refuse any sort of co-operation with employers, because they disapprove of capitalist society altogether. Logically such persons should disapprove of any collective agreement whatever. As long as trade unions exist and collective bargaining is practiced, it is logical and useful that co-operation should assume positive as well as negative forms, and that the strike on the one hand should have its positive counterpart in co-operation for service on the other, no matter what views one holds on the ultimate desirability of the capitalist order. Offers of co-operation may be made as valuable means of bargaining as threats of non-co-operation. When all the workers are organized both for non-co-operation and for co-operation, they will have the greatest ability they can possibly attain to change society in any direction they desire.

No

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

IN an issue of *No More War,* an organ of the British pacifists, published shortly after the General Strike, Mr. A. Fenner Brockway attempted to define the conditions under which a strike may be regarded as pacific and thus pacifist. It is evident that many pacifists in England were troubled by the General Strike, and raised the question as to whether this strike, or any other strike, was not a form of violence and thus an attack upon society. In his article, Mr. Brockway cited six tests by which we may know that a strike is not war-like but pacific, and throughout them all he used the parallel of "a strike against war," by which he meant organized refusal upon the part of conscientious objectors to take up arms against a foreign enemy. All pacifists, he said, would sustain, indeed participate, in such a revolt against war; why not also a revolt against "starvation wages, which kill as many human beings as are killed by guns"?

The comparison is enticing—yet hardly sound! For who can imagine conscientious objectors against war picketing armories and recruiting stations, to prevent enlistments for active service at the front? Who can picture them denouncing soldiers, either volunteer or conscripted, as "scabs," and treating them as such? Is it conceivable that objectors would ever attempt to interfere with processes of government, interrupt public services necessary to health and life, or in any way advance their own interests at the expense of the general welfare? On the contrary, did not the Quakers, the best pacifists we had in the Great War, do everything in their power to serve society, to maintain industry, to foster the public good in ways not inconsistent with their convictions?

"The determining factor," says Mr. Brockway, "as to whether a strike is pacifist or not is the spirit from which it springs." And, we might add, the social practises in which that spirit manifests itself. There are strikes, in other words, and *strikes!* A non-resistent non-cooperative uprising of great hosts of men in refusal to do evil, or themselves supinely to be oppressed of evil, would be a strike, if we may call it such, which

everybody could support. The test of its validity would be the willingness of the strikers to "suffer all things" for the common cause, and at the same time not visit direct suffering upon others, even their enemies. Gandhi's great mass movement in South Africa is the classic illustration of what I mean. But the strike, as we understand it today, in our highly industrialized society, is an altogether different thing. Beginning in the early days of the nineteenth century, as a blind revolt against unbearable misery, with the burning of ricks and the smashing of machinery as conspicious features, it became in due course a highly organized method of attack against the power of capitalism. It was, and is, the force of mere numbers martialed against the force of economic and political control—and the result is exactly what we have long since learned to call it, "industrial warfare." The sporadic acts of violence on both sides, which are a commonplace of strikes, are like the eruptions from the crater of a volcano which show the central fires within. The whole thing is essentially a phenomenon of conflict in terms of force and violence. The strikers are out not to suffer themselves except in so far as this may be inevitable and then to suffer bravely, but primarily to impose suffering upon those whom they are fighting, and, if necessary, upon the non-combatant public. Like soldiers at the front, their aim is to destroy, and thus to conquer, and thus in the end to dictate terms to an enemy. It is *war,* with the psychology of war, the objectives of war, and all too often the weapons of war.

THE position of the pacifist, in such event as this, is not that of the striker, as Mr. Brockway imagines. On the contrary, his attitude toward the strike, as toward war itself, is that of the conscientious objector. Like William Lloyd Garrison in the Civil War, he stands outside the conflict. Since the fight is on, whether or no, he hopes that victory will come to labor, as Garrison in '61 hoped that victory would come to the North. He gives his sympathy and support, so far as may be consistent with his convictions, to the strikers. But he regards the whole thing as futile, costly, wrong, fundamentally pitiful, and not inspiring. And he works and waits for that better way of settling industrial disputes which must some day come. In the labor field, exactly as in the international field, the problem must be solved by a substitution of law for war. Judicial settlements must take the place of conflict between capital and labor, as it has already taken the place of conflict between individuals, and will eventually take the place of conflict between nations. "Fighting it out" by the primitive jungle method must end in every relationship of life. Which means that the strike must go!

That labor is beginning to see this fact is one of the most cheering signs of the day. There may have been a time when the strike had its place in the economy of labor emancipation, as there may have been a time when war had its place in the economy of social progress. Granted, for the sake of argument, that this is true, it is also true that the strike, like war, is now surviving into an age when its usefulness, its justifiability, is ended. The strike costs more than it is worth. It spreads abroad destruction and death more immediately and completely fatal to labor itself than to any other element in society. Its fruits, if won, are meagre and perishable. Its methods—inevitably, whatever the spirit and purpose invoked—are detestable to every enlightened and compassionate soul. There must be better ways of securing good ends—and in our democratic society there *are* better ways. The waxing power of the British Labor Party in English political life, coincident as it is at this moment with the collapse of the miners' strike and the prostration of trade unionism, means more than a passing phase of history. It marks the discovery by labor of the peaceful way to power, and therefore the sure and blessed way to freedom.

Creeds

Creeds are like old thresholds
I have seen in France,
Worn to storied thinness
By the feet of reverence.

ARTHUR R. MACDOUGALL, JR.

To an Immigrant

LIKE the Nile
From an unknown source,
Through African-like regions,
With an earth-veiled surface
You come.
How did you free yourself?
How did you come?
You are not ravelled.
Did you not combat
The cannibal tribes of Hunger?
The night-riders that rule the ragged road?
Did not the absent light of love,
The delayed word that kept your ears empty,
And the hand that never beckoned—
Abandoning your eyes in space—
Ravage your courage?

Tell us how you have come.
Scorn to the deserts!
Here is cool water for your rock-torn feet.
Scars shall soon heal from your face.
What is your name?

—LEON SRABIAN HERALD

Where Violence Has Not Occurred

ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

SOME three years ago, Paul Kellogg, editor of *The Survey,* put to me the very questions that are implicit in the title here assigned to me by the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW: Where are the industries or industrial establishments where violence has not occurred? What did they do to avert violence? Would an analysis of their records uncover any principles of conduct that might conceivably invite general application?

The questions had a very lively interest for me because I had received my induction into the practical problems of industrial government as a member of the Board of Arbitration set up by the union and organized manufacturers under the Protocol of Perpetual Peace in the dress and waist industry. The chairman of the Board at that time was Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, now Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Mr. Hamilton Holt represented the manufacturers; I the union.

The word "represented" used in this context is slightly misleading, because, like judges in general, all of us were instructed to weigh the evidence presented to us, not from the point-of-view of one side or the other, but from the inclusive point-of-view of the industry and the public it served. We were "public" representatives. We had been called to help both parties give substance to the high aspirations expressed in the title of their agreement,—Protocol of *Perpetual* Peace. First under the chairmanship of Mr. Brandeis, and later under the leadership of Julian W. Mack of the United States Circuit Court, we worked hard to make good. On one occasion we were engaged on a case for the better part of four months culminating in a session that began at ten o'clock Sunday morning and ended at six a. m. the next day. In spite of this heroic effort on the part of all parties at interest, the Protocol soon thereafter went on the rocks, was utterly smashed by a succession of lockouts and strikes, so that any reference to "perpetual peace" only served to evoke cynical smiles.

The economic waste that resulted from this failure has been enormous; a highly organized industrial state has reverted to a semblance of anarchy; bitter factionalism has poisoned not only the relations between employers and workers, but also the internal relations within the two major groups. No one having passed through such an experience could fail to develop a hunger for knowledge of ways to avert industrial warfare and to conserve (for constructive uses) the tremendous emotional energy it dissipated. No waste in the world is so tragic as this waste of uncontrolled intellectual and emotional power.

IN looking back upon that experience a number of things stand out. First, the public, even that relatively small section of the public that seriously interests itself in the organic evolution of functional industrial government, rarely brings an informed or sustained influence to bear upon the course of industrial relations until overt conflict either threatens public convenience or arouses the almost universal love of a fight. Once the row is on, the newspaper, for instance, will assign their best reporters to the job and they will increase the amount of space allotted to the story in reasonably exact ratio to the amount of violence the row develops. They have not devised a technique for dramatising the day by day conflicts that are the life of industry where men have learned to convert the emotion they engender into creative power. Similarly, the research agencies which from time to time the churches have set up to enlighten their constituents on the intricacies of industrial relations have, no doubt under pressure from their Christian supporters, devoted a conspicuously large share of their resources to the retrospective study and moral interpretation of strikes. The result is that violent conflict bulks excessively large in the layman's thinking about industrial relations and that those who would acquaint themselves with the triumphs of peace are thrown upon the necessity of digging out the facts for themselves. There are probably thousands of American industrial establishments that have experienced neither violence as that term is here used, nor lockouts or strikes; and yet I know of no comprehensive study of a single one of them.

When I say comprehensive study, I mean the kind of study that would uncover the principles upon which the practices of such establishments are based, or rather out of which their practices emerge. I do not fail to attach high value to such studies as those which the Russell Sage Foundation has made of the so-called Rockefeller Plan in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, Myers' study of the system of government and industrial relations in the Dutchess Bleachery, Burton's excellent volume on *Employee Representation,* Lauck's *Political and Industrial Democracy,* and a score of similar volumes. A certain amount of general information is available about such remarkable experiments as those that are going forward in the Dennison Manufacturing Company, the International

Harvester Company, the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Company, the Columbia Conserve Company, the Leeds, Northrup Company, to say nothing of the much discussed union-management cooperative plan on the Baltimore and Ohio and other railroads. And yet when it comes to a critically inductive definition of fundamental principles, I think the most diligent reader would search the literature in vain.

This is the second of the facts that are salient as I look back on that experience with the Board of Arbitration: In time of industrial warfare especially, although the same is measurably true at all times, industrial leaders will tell you that the most important problem with which they have to cope is the problem of industrial relations; yet so far as I have been able to ascertain there is only one manufacturing establishment in the country where so much as a beginning has been made of a current record of industrial relations experience. Where no such record exists, where there is no expert staff to use the record as a research chemist would use the record of his laboratory's experiments, no dependable formulation of underlying principles is possible. Some of the factories that have an enviable history of industrial peace operate under trade union agreements; some, like the Dennison Company, have standard trade or craft unions working side by side with shop or company union committees; some have company unions only; some have none of the machinery of industrial democracy at all. A mere description of the forms under which satisfactory industrial relations are conducted throws no more light upon fundamental principles than a photograph of an aeroplane throws upon the principles involved in heavier-than-air flight, or than a copy of the constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, let us say, throws upon the industrial, economic and psychological principles underlying the complex life of that community. We are here confronted by the surprising fact that with all our institutions of learning, all our research foundations, all our talk about the wonders of science, we have not yet laid the bare ground work of a science of human behavior under the conditions of group association characteristic of contemporary industry.

UNDER these circumstances, I should be skeptical of any facile answer to the questions which I have listed in my first paragraph. Time and again one has seen a state of Perpetual Peace suddenly and unaccountably collapse into a state of war in spite of elaborate machinery designed to make the safeguards of peace impregnable. The problem here is analogous to the problem of war and peace among nations,—and since 1914 most of us have been slow to accept any too simple solution as having anything more than an experimental value. I am not of those who attempt to rationalize the brute horror and wastefulness of war by inventing compensatory gains alleged to have accrued to civilization as its unpremeditated by-products; and yet I am inclined to believe that one must credit the disillusionment of 1914 with the destruction of naive faith in utopian slogans and its replacement by a more substantial faith in the cumulative advantages of controlled experimentation, research and induction. This is clear gain. For those who are interested in the development of techniques for the averting of violence and the resolution of industrial conflict into plus values, one of the most significant illustrations of the emergence of experimental-mindedness will be found in certain resolutions adopted by the last two conventions of the American Federation of Labor. These resolutions seem to me to offer a most fruitful lead for those who would search out the principles by which the possibility of dynamic industrial peace is fundamentally conditioned.

AT the Atlantic City convention in 1925, the A. F. of L., responding to the forward-looking attitude which President Green impressed upon its deliberations, adopted a resolution in which it broke with the "wage fund" theory and its correlative conception of militant barter, and "urged upon management the elimination of waste in order that the selling price may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in the study of waste in production." For the first time, these representatives of the trade unions asserted their joint interest with employers in the improvement of the production process, which had hitherto by common consent been regarded as within the exclusive jurisdiction of the employer.

The next year, at Detroit, the convention for the first time in its long history authorized its Executive Council to levy "a special assessment or contribution upon the affiliated organizations" for the purpose of establishing an industrial research fund. The authorization was part of a resolution (Res. 68) calling for a systematic study of company unions with a view to the formulation of a campaign for their replacement by a voluntary system of union-management cooperation. Ostensibly a war measure, it in reality expressed a fundamental change of attitude on the part of organized labor with respect to its interest in and its responsibility for the protection and improvement of the production process as such,—as a thing in which labor had a concern coordinate with the concern of management. This interpretation is warranted by the report of the Executive Council which, after observing that the products of modern industry are the work, not of any one individual but of scores and hundreds of individuals, each contributing something essential to the whole, makes the interesting statement that "if the entire work process is done most efficiently and most economically, the whole group operates like a perfectly synchronized machine," and that to bring this about, so that production may

be increased in quantity and improved in quality and wages may so be increased, it is essential that labor should itself gather together and make available toward the production process "its traditional and accumulated group experience."

In these resolutions, organized labor expressed the novel and highly illuminating doctrine that industrial relations, if they are to be at once dynamic and secure against violence, must be evolved out of the requirements of the production process,—the focus of the common interest of managers, workers and the consuming public.

THIS doctrine, though as yet crudely formulated and still awaiting scientific documentation, has the earmarks of a great working hypothesis. During the past two years I have attempted to test it out in a considerable number of industrial establishments. So far it works out. Wherever I find dynamic industrial peace there also I find that management and men are resolving current conflict into plus values by making the production process the focus both of their common and their divergent interests. With the encouragement both of trade union leaders and executives in non-union factories, I am following this lead into the workshops. It is too early to attempt the formulation of trustworthy general conclusions. But for me the preliminary findings are immensely encouraging because of the light they throw upon the possibility of bringing the dynamics of conflict under deliberately conscious control. For lack of space, I have asked the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW to permit me to refer its readers to my articles,—32,000 R.P.M. and The Mind in the Machine,—in *The Survey Graphic* for January and February, with the request that they will give me the benefit of their criticism of the idea underlying this article and which in *The Survey* articles I subject to a laboratory test. For if we are to gain any measure of the wisdom essential to averting violence whether in industry or among nations, we shall, it seems to me, have to develop in the social sciences the habit of free and easy cooperative thinking to which explorers in the realm of the physical sciences owe so much of their recent progress.

Class War, Collaboration or—?

A. J. MUSTE

WHEN interests clash or values come into competition, among individuals or between groups, what is done about it? It may be that those involved do not see that a conflict exists or, aware of the conflict in some measure, try to act as if it did not exist. They may even agree so to act. The term reconciliation is sometimes mistakenly applied to this procedure or its result. In the second place, the opposing interests may clash head on and fight it out until one is subdued or until both are exhausted and must perforce accept the *status quo* at least temporarily. In the third place, an effort may be made to face the facts of the situation squarely but dispassionately, to analyze the real significance, force and validity of the interests at stake, and to arrive at some "integration" (the blessed word that the Follett-Sheffield-Overstreet-Hart-Lindeman group conjure with). This does not mean that either of the interests is "satisfied" in its original form, but the settlement so evidently represents the greatest value that all concerned can get out of the situation that it is accepted by all, not forced upon any.

Generally speaking, we shall probably all admit that little or no good can come out of the first two methods and that the third is the intelligent, human, Christian, common-sense way of meeting our problems. If the point be made that through the ages higher forms have been evolved from lower by struggle, we may answer that even if it be granted for the sake of argument that struggle has still some part to play in the evolution of mankind, still in recent times, geologically and biologically speaking, progress seems to have been made by substituting the method of co-operation or mutual aid for that of competition, or at least by lifting the struggle for survival above the plane of mere physical force.

But however we may, within certain groups such as our own family, or class, or nation, insist that seemingly opposed interests must be integrated, we are all apt at times to find ourselves in groups that are fighting it out with other groups, assuring ourselves that there is nothing else for it: war may be hell, it may go against all our finer instincts, but war it is and we will not be slackers or traitors to our gang.

THUS we are landed in the midst of that industrial problem, that problem of "the relations between labor and capital" which is the primary concern of this article. Here we encounter some of the kind of people to whom we referred at the outset who tell us that there really is no problem, or that if there is it is simply a case of getting Mr. Gary, for example, and the fifty cents an hour dago or polak in his employ to have gentlemanly and unselfish feelings toward each other.

On the other hand, the left elements in the labor movement assert that capital and labor have nothing in common, that when labor co-operates or collaborates with capital it is being duped into piling up more profits for its enemy, that labor's only important concern is to fight capital daily and to get ready for a last show-down struggle with it.

Is there any chance of using in this situation the third method, of education or integration, to which we have referred? The best way to suggest an answer to that question is to indicate the conditions that would have to be met in applying such a method.

1. The fact that the interests of certain groups in society diverge must be frankly and fully recognized. The interest of an eastern manufacturer in a tariff on steel is not the same as that of a western farmer. Things do not look the same to the man who gets a bare living in the form of wages and to the man who makes millions in profits, to the man who takes orders and the man who gives them. At certain points their interests may clash, the gain of one may be the loss of another. It is not a mere matter of personal immorality when a man who loves children fights desperately for laws permitting children to work in factories—formerly twelve hours or more a day at seven or eight years of age—or when a kind-hearted Christian gentleman belongs to a manufacturers' association that hires thugs in strikes or to a political machine that spends millions of dollars to elect a Vare to the United States Senate. Nor is it a mere slip in personal morality when a mild-mannered working girl in a strike fights like a tiger some one trying to take her job away. So conservative a sociologist as was Albion W. Small of the University of Chicago has put it: "More crocodile tears have been shed over Marx's recourse to class conflict than over any other mooted conception in the whole field of social science. . . . No one gets through a primer of social science today without learning that class conflict is to the social sciences what friction is to mechanics. . . . The fact of class-struggle is as axiomatic today as the fact of gravitation."

2. But what of the fact that we are all brothers, children of one Father? Does that not mean that fundamentally we have all the same interest, that an injury to one is an injury to all? Precisely. Wherefore, we do not have any interest in maintaining the present régime where at many points interests diverge and it is not possible to realize complete fraternity. Our common interest, would our private interests but permit us to see it, is in a social order that would be class-less, wherein it would be to the interest of each group that the other should achieve its aims.

3. In dealing with this problem, we are apt to mistake the quarter from which the force or violence that we deplore is being applied, in some such way as the teacher sometimes punishes as the disturber of the peace of the school room the boy who squirms in his seat instead of the boy behind him who is sticking a pin into him. Whatever is is so apt to seem right that the burden for creating a disturbance is likely to be placed on what seeks a change, while the force and violence implied in the existing régime are masked. When an employer closes down his factory because he regards operation as unprofitable, it is just a stoppage of work though it may mean starvation to workers; when workers cease work because they regard continuance as degrading and intolerable, it is a strike. It is not the Foreign Powers but the Chinese who are "making a revolution" in China today! It was not Rome or the Pharisees but Jesus who disturbed the people!

4. Once the implication of this is clearly grasped, we shall be exceedingly careful as to how we appeal for peace and co-operation. An appeal which has the effect of arousing false hopes in those who are suffering under some form of injustice and oppression, or of making them submissive and passive, is not an honest appeal for peace and co-operation. It is disingenuous to call on people to make sacrifices for peace if they have nothing to sacrifice. To put it in positive form, peace and co-operation are not to be obtained by keeping one party weak. Weaklings and fools do not co-operate. Workers must be given the fullest right to organize and to increase their organized strength. If peace is not possible on that basis, real peace is not possible at all. You may have silence as in a prison or grave, but to talk of having peace is ludicrous. Under modern conditions the individual may work *for* a corporation, but to speak about his working *with* it unless he is organized is absurd.

5. After such preliminary considerations we may proceed to urge that every situation where interests diverge be envisaged not primarily as a war to be fought, but as a problem to be solved. Not that the conflict is to be ignored or softened. But conflicts are never mere show-downs as to relative brute strength or numbers, and after every strike or war or revolution people have to set themselves to solving problems. Doubtless factors have been removed or introduced in the course of the fight. Whether otherwise the problem could have been solved is a matter for endless debate. But the obvious costs of war and the failure of many wars in all spheres to accomplish what was expected are sufficient warrant for the man who asks whether it might not be wiser to set ourselves to solving problems, in the first instance.

Good-will and Intelligence, to use two very familiar words, are here required. Good-will, decency, fair play and such like, not as a substitute for social struggle, nor as a device for slurring over or patching up conflicts, but as an atmosphere in which struggle may

go on. Intelligence, because if resort is not to be had to a trial of brute strength, there must be a getting down to concrete facts, an analysis of the interests at stake, a detailed plan for integrating them.

NOW, the American labor movement as a whole is decidedly not committed to the extremist point of view and is strongly disposed to try out the method of "co-operation" which we have been discussing. The matter has been set forth recently by William English Walling in a work entitled *American Labor and American Democracy,* which attempts to state the philosophy and strategy of the American Federation of Labor. To quote Mr. Walling: "It is true that American labor strives for power and in this struggle it meets with resistance. But the struggle is in no sense a class war." Why? Because "American labor does not regard any other social class as an enemy to be conquered," though those who oppose labor organizations are "outsiders whose power over labor and opposition to labor organizations must be overcome if labor is to have its rightful voice in industry and government"; because labor believes that "society as a whole can be effectively organized through the co-operation of more or less autonomous groups, each contributing not a theory and program of universal welfare, but its own experience and point of view"; and because labor believes that its aims can be brought about "through existing democratic institutions."

Whether the method of "co-operation" will be tried in American industry depends on the reply that will be made by management to that position.

The encouraging factors in the situation are: the fact that we are rich, so that poverty is not likely in the near future to force any group into desperation; instances where machinery for the actual adjustment of industrial relations is in successful operation; the workers' educational effort to develop a more enlightened leadership and rank and file; the fearless facing of the situation by certain groups in the churches; and the increasing number of social scientists subjecting industrial relations and similar social problems to objective scrutiny. The discouraging factors are: the tradition of violence in industrial struggles characteristic of America; the injunction evil and other abuses of judicial power; the aggressively anti-union group among the employers; and our rich and mighty imperialism, which may temporarily carry even the workers, drugged by a relatively high standard of living, along with it and give us the appearance of peace, but will surely bring a day of reckoning when imperialism has run its course.

Industrial Snapshots

IN the nine years from 1916 to 1924 American workers lost over 4,070,000,000 days because of strikes and lockouts. The average duration of a dispute was estimated at about 29.5 days.

Wages are the chief reason for strikes and lockouts. Hours and recognition of the union follow.

Of the 33 industrial cities which have had 25 labor disputes in any one year since 1916, New York leads in number of disputes. Chicago is second, with Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland and St. Louis following.

The states with the heaviest number of disputes are New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Illinois.

Grouping the disputes by sections of the country, the overwhelming majority occurred in the Northeast. The West comes second, and the Southeast has the fewest for any given section. A still smaller group of disputes is interstate.

Most labor disputes break out in the spring, when industry is usually most active. Summer is the period next most likely to be affected, while fewer occur in winter and fewest of all in the autumn.

Strikes involving men make up the largest number. Disputes involving both men and women are next in frequency, while those involving women alone are comparatively few.

Nearly 2,500,000 industrial accidents occur annually in the United States, with a loss of over 225,000,000 working days, and a wage loss of over $1,000,000,000. Approximately 23,000 workers are either killed or totally disabled every year.

A total of 8,549,511 women ten years of age and over were gainfully occupied in 1920, an increase of 500,000 over 1910. But the proportion of the total woman population is 2.3 per cent less.

Since the annulment of the Federal Child Labor Law in 1922 child labor is on the increase. The largest number of children are employed in farming. Manufacturing comes second, clerical occupations third, and trade fourth.

Through idleness and through wastes in production, distribution, and consumption, it is estimated that at least 20,500,000 man years, or about 50 per cent of the available labor-power of the United States, are wasted annually.

—Gleaned from the American Labor Year Book

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Low Wages Cause of Death

Low wages are a direct cause of death, in the opinion of Dr. M. Alice Asserson of the N. Y. Tuberculosis and Health Association. The high tuberculosis death rate among girls from 15 to 24 years of age is largely chargeable to the fact that their wages are so small that they cannot get the clothing they feel that they need, and at the same time have enough to eat; so they cut down on the food.

Girls Benefited by Employer Lunches

A questionnaire sent out by the Association to Promote Proper Housing for Girls shows that the group questioned pays twenty-six cents for lunch when obtained at a lunch room conducted by the employer, forty-three cents at a cafeteria and fifty-three cents at a restaurant. The same questionnaire shows that girls living at home are subsidized by parents to the extent of about two dollars a week.

36 Labor Banks Have $127,000,000 Resources

Thirty-six labor banks in the U. S. had resources of over $127,000,000 at the end of 1926, according to the Research Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Total deposits exceeded $109,500,000 and total capital and surplus and undivided profits $12,750,000.

1926 Industrial Production

Industrial production in 1926 was higher than for any previous year, with production of factories and mines about 4% larger than in 1925, according to a review of economic conditions in 1926 in the Federal Reserve Bulletin.

Chain Store Business

The 100,000 chain stores of the country do 12% of the nation's grocery business, 20% of the drug business and 75% of the men's shoe business. In the past year three of the 5 and 10 cent stores did a combined business of $400,000,000. Altogether about 9% of all the goods sold in the country are sold through chain stores.

Wool Leaders Confer

Representatives of twenty-nine of the leading wool cooperative marketing associations, representing approximately 30,000 wool producers who market 30,000,000 pounds annually, conferred with officials at the Department of Agriculture on a departmental program for research, service and educational work in the cooperative marketing of wool.

Announcement was made that J. F. Walker, head of the Division of Cooperative Marketing, will be sent to Australia and New Zealand for a year's study of wool production and marketing methods in the antipodes.

Pay Married Men Double

Professor Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago sociologist, tells business men they could save money by paying employees with five or more children twice as much as bachelor employees, instead of spending same money to contribute to child-welfare organizations.

Water Power One-Fourth Developed

It is interesting to learn that about one-fourth of the potential water power created on this continent is actually utilized. There are 50,000,000 acres of irrigable or otherwise reclaimable land still in the U. S. There is room for much further growth.

A New Electric Engine

A new engine utilizing a voltage of only 200 to 250, and thus doing away with the danger from live rails, may revolutionize transportation in England and lead to the electrification of the entire railroad system in this country.

Negro Named Liberian Consul

J. G. Carter of Georgia, a Negro, was nominated recently Minister Resident and Consul General to Liberia.

Muscle Shoals

One of the best-informed officials in the Capitol Building at Washington, D. C., commented upon the report flying about the corridors to the effect that there would be no action upon Muscle Shoals at this session of Congress. "In the meantime," he mused, "the Alabama Power Company has got about all there is to be had at Muscle Shoals, and those people who say that the Alabama Company 'can't have it' must be reminded of the famous old story about the lawyer who went to see a client in jail. After hearing his story the lawyer said, "Why, they can't put you in jail for that.' 'But I'm in jail,' replied the prisoner."

Workers College Endowment Fund

Endorsement of the $2,000,000 building and endowment fund drive which Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., is launching has been given by the New York State Federation of Labor and the New York Central Trades and Labor Council. Credentials have been issued by the city body to representatives of the fund.

Industrial Accidents

The speeding up of labor is said to be largely responsible for the killing of three men every hour in the industries of this country. Besides this, there are 700,000 workers that are so seriously injured every year that they lose at least four weeks' work. A contributing cause is the large number of new employees who are unfamiliar with the dangers incident to their tasks. There is no apprentice system in the U. S., and myriads of young men and women go to work every year with no knowledge of the dangers that surround them in the factories where they work.

Artificial Anthracite Now to Be Had

From plants located at Fairmont, W. Va., artificial anthracite, made of bituminous coal, is being shipped to Eastern points and sold at a rate about $2 less than is charged for natural anthracite. The users are said to consider it a good quality anthracite coal. Experts at the Pittsburgh fuel conference, commenting on this and kindred matters connected with bituminous coal, say that there is enough high-grade motor fuel in American bituminous coal to run all the world's fuel motors for 800 years.

Cleveland Convention

Settle Nicaraguan and Mexican affairs by arbitration and conciliation, was the demand of 1,500 leaders of Judaism in convention in Cleveland.

Would Prevent Mixed Marriages

A bill prohibiting intermarriage in Connecticut between whites and persons of African descent, and providing a fine of $1,000 for violations, was introduced but seems likely to fail of passage.

Negroes March Into Labor Unions

6,000 Negro workers organized in 165 local unions are affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor, the *Preston News* columnist states. Transportation workers, such as coach and car cleaners, freight handlers, shipyard workers, train porters, platform men and mail and baggage handlers, comprise the bulk of the 6,000.

Immigration Figures

During December 26,356 aliens left the U. S. to return to their native countries. This is the largest departure of foreigners in a single month since July, 1925. Only approximately 9,000 more immigrants, a total of 35,608, than those departing entered the country during the month.

For the last six months of 1926, total immigration to the U. S. was 175,955, and emigration of aliens was 42,779, leaving the country's net gain in population by immigration at 133,176.

Half the immigration during the six months' period was from countries of the American continents, the other half coming from Europe, which furnished the U. S. 86,960 immigrants.

10,000 Deported in 1926

The annual report of the Secretary of Labor for 1926 shows that the institution of warrant proceedings and the subsequent deportation of aliens found to be unlawfully in the U. S. has grown into one of the most important functions of the immigration service. During the past year a total of 10,904 were arrested and deported to their country of origin, which number exceeds the previous year by more than 1,400 and is the greatest number deported in any fiscal year in the history of the immigration service.

Roumania's Political Prisoners

During Queen Marie's visit to the United States public attention was repeatedly called to the persecution in Roumania of racial and religious minorities and of working-class and peasant organizations. Protests were lodged with the Queen or directed to her through the public press by the Baptists, Jews, a group of theological students, the International Labor Defense and the International Committee for Political Prisoners. The Queen did not reply to any of them. In a general statement she disclaimed responsibility for political conditions, stating that the power was in the hands of the ministers.

American financing of these elements in Roumania which suffer most from governmental opposition has begun with the formation of the Roumanian Political Prisoners Fund. The undertaking has the co-operation of the Quakers, who will supervise getting the money into Roumania and will administer it there.

Committees of prominent men and women have formed in Paris, Brussels, Geneva, and Berlin at the instance of Henri Barbusse for investigation into Roumanian conditions. Representatives of the American Quakers are now in Europe arranging co-operation with these groups.

American Dances

The American fox trot, shimmy and Charleston dances were forbidden in Moscow for indecency as unfit for Soviet Russia's proletariat youth. Now, what do Americans think of that?

The Volga

The Volga river of Russia, which now flows into the land-locked Caspian sea, is to be diverted by a canal sixty-five miles long so that it will flow into the River Don and thence into the Black sea. This will permit ocean-going grain packets to come through the Mediterranean, the Dardanelles, and thence up the Don.

Draft Foe Remains Disbarred

Daniel O'Connell, San Francisco attorney disbarred for anti-draft activities during the war, has lost the latest of his many attempts at reinstatement, the District Court of Appeals having refused his application. O'Connell served seven years at McNeil's Island for opposing the draft.

What of American Sunday Schools?

British Sunday schools are fading away. In the twenty years from 1906 to 1926 the Episcopalians lost 942,087 from their Sunday schools, and the Free Churches lost 832,986, so that the net loss is 1,775,073. Only 4,741,012 Sunday scholars now remain. Oddly enough, the church membership has increased slightly during that period.

Another Zeppelin Test

Dr. Hugo Eckner of Germany will attempt a round-the-world non-stop flight with the Zeppelin LZ-127 as soon as it is completed and tested. The new ship will probably leave its hangar for the first trial flight about the middle of June and should be ready to encircle the globe during the autumn months.

Importance of Correspondence Schools

So important are correspondence schools in the educational life of the people of the U. S. that the fees which are annually paid into them are one and one-half times the tuition fees of all the so-called regular colleges and universities in the country. There are about two million active students in these institutions at all times, and there is hardly a subject that is not taught by correspondence. Carefully prepared texts, numerous illustrations and close examination of answers to questions are characteristic of the best of these institutions.

Peonage Widespread in South

Mediaeval slavery conditions prevail among rural Negroes in many parts of the South today, declares James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The procedure employed to keep Negro tenants in debt slavery is roughly as follows: the Negro agrees to cultivate land and raise a crop paying for his rent and advances of money and supplies until the crop is grown by the proceeds of the crop. In many localities where colored tenants are helpless to protest they are never given itemized statements. Their crop is sold and they are presented with a statement showing them to be in debt. This is continued from year to year and many tenants are never out of debt. If they try to escape or leave they are imprisoned and fined. White landowners have a working agreement that one will not take tenants from another, if those tenants are indebted.

Building Tomorrow's World

The New White Man

A HUSHED, rapt audience leans forward to watch in fascination the lips and gestures of an eloquent speaker. It is September 18, 1895.

He is a colored man. He raises his right hand with the fingers spread apart and utters a sentence which arouses his white hearers to intense enthusiasm. From that moment, seven months after the death of Frederick Douglass, this humble Negro becomes in the eyes of the American people the leader of his race.

That man was Booker T. Washington. And what he said was this: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

This conception of race relations was never accepted by the leaders of the Negro race in the North, not even in Washington's lifetime. He has been dead twelve years. Those years have witnessed the greater part of the World War; our participation in it; the return of thousands of colored troops from overseas; the great post-war migration of Negroes to the North; the introduction and perpetual postponement of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill; the recent organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—a history-making accomplishment; and, in general, a literary and artistic renaissance among our cultured Negro citizens. The emergence, in short, of the vocal, the irresistible, the "new" Negro. The new Negro, whose soul, no less than his forerunner's, to use a phrase from Langston Hughes, "has grown deep like the rivers," but who more vigorously asserts as in Countee Cullen's line,

"We shall not always plant while others reap."

The new Negro, to be sure! The old Negro, emancipated though he was from chattel slavery, has lived in bondage none the less, and only now is he commencing to throw off his yoke.

But what of the white man? Despite the legend of the Civil War, he has allowed himself to be sold by his desire for dominance into a spiritual slavery. His back is bent beneath the burden of his own weighty superstitions, the load of his self-created fears. His dreams of the future are haunted by dire demons: loss of supremacy, reduction of economic gain, racial intermarriage. And exactly as the ignorant slaves of the South found their way to some famed dream interpreter, these modern bondmen have besought their scientists, so-called, to conjure Nordic strains, and cast the spell of psychological tests in order to free their dreams from goblins. But voodooism and medicine men, whether old style or new, can lure for long none but the ignorant and dull. It is because thus far we whites have not yet had *our* spiritual renaissance that we pay any heed to oracles who but bolster up our prejudices. The white man in our time is still the *old* white man, holding his hand aloft with the fingers widely spread, and mouthing still the old taboos.

The new white man will soon become articulate. Even now he is trying to find his voice. The new Negro could come first, because his burdens, though insufferable, had been laid on his back by other hands. The old white man, however, has lived these many years in thraldom to his own obsessions, and it will take much time to snap the thongs that bind him to his prejudices. Yet one by one they burst. And there will come in time the white man's renaissance, expressing itself perhaps in a new dedication to the art of living, and ushering in the new white man to lead his race from bondage.

The new white man will have to burst the bonds of *ignorance*. Last month following an address I had made at a forum, a man who had taken exception to my remarks on social equality approached me and declared that whatever came, he could never approve of social equality "because of the principle of the thing." "What principle?" I inquired. Whereupon he evaded every query I propounded, admitting that he knew nothing about Negroes personally or as a racial group, had studied the question not at all, but nevertheless was sure that social equality went counter to his "principles." The experience is so typical as to be almost banal. The new white man will not allow himself to be deterred by lazy generalities from widening the horizons of human fellowship. He will be aware of

Negro achievement and cultural contributions. He will know so many Negroes personally, if he has the good fortune to deserve their friendship, that the experience of association alone will render him immune to the foolish phrases of traditionalism which often do, alas, get by as "principles."

The new white man will burst the bonds of *superstition*. "Negroes," often say uncultured whites, "are superstitious." And that, of course, is true of some, but as a fact, the superstitious Negro is excusable, since he is usually uneducated. But what can be said in defense of the comparatively well educated whites who carry around in their heads superstitions about other races which are as unrelated to scientific fact as the "science" of phrenology? What of the tales to bulwark white esteem which are passed about behind hands raised to hide the lips,—the ugly jests, the myths, insinuations which are to Negroes only the vilest of lies, but to the whites who hear them, and the young whites in particular, the most insidious of poisons? The new white man will never hesitate to meet these whispers, no matter how distasteful it may be to drag them into the open. He will scotch them and the basic one on which they rest, the general faith in white supremacy.

The new white man will burst the bonds of *economic dependency*. When our country was new and cheap labor could not be had because land was free to all, slavery was the easy road for those who had to lean on the exploitation of others for their profit. Indentured labor was another contemporary escape from justice on a smaller scale. Freedom from chattel slavery brought by no means to all colored people freedom from economic exploitation. Negro labor today is "cheap" labor, and many a white-owned industry exhibits the profits that it does simply because it lives in a state of dependency on colored labor. The new white man will not fail to attack this extremely practical aspect of the race question; for without freedom to compete for his bread and butter (since we live as yet in a competitive society) what can mere physical freedom amount to? In the ranks of white labor, which for the most part refuses to admit the colored worker, will some day yet be heard the voice of the new white man, crying out the sound principle of all-inclusive labor solidarity.

The new white man will burst the bonds of *fear*. For underneath all else that stands between the races is the white man's age-long jealousy for his dominant position. The Ku Klux Klan, the post-war wave of Nordicism, were built up largely on the fear among the white "superiors" that some day if the "rising tide of color" were not checked, the pale-skinned despot would be jeopardized. It is the same fear, reflected from a different facet, which underlies the intermarriage bugaboo. You can't even mention social equality, as a rule, without being forced to discuss intermarriage in the self-same breath. It is frequently useless to point out the vast extent to which miscegenation goes on outside of wedlock, and the patent fact that social equality, by safeguarding the status of the colored woman, will tend to decrease racial mixture while slightly increasing intermarriage. The cautious may console themselves with this: that custom being what it is in the life of man, by the time when there is any wholesale intermarriage, there will be on the part of society a wholesale sanction of it. The mores can be changed; but you cannot change them fast.

It cannot be denied, of course, that economic class divisions have grown up, to some extent, within the colored race itself in the United States, and that within this minority caste group, though subject to all the psychological influences of discrimination against it, even color lines have been drawn at times between those of darker and lighter skins.

Is there any way of settling this question short of *complete* justice, *complete* equality, *complete* freedom for friendship? I know of none. It is because of this increasingly apparent fact that I am compelled to realize every now and then afresh the audacious radicalism of Jesus' conception of human relations. Into a world regimented along racial, national, and religious divisions, he thrust the drastic concept of the Father-God and the Man-Brotherhood, all, every person, "of one blood" with all the others. It is he—not to disparage Lincoln—who was the Great Emancipator, for in his method there was nothing self-defeating, yet there were no limitations to his goal of fellowship. Equality to him was no mere sweeping away of barriers; it was a highly positive, creative, completely normal atmosphere in which could develop after the normal fashion the insatiate reach of human personalities for others.

And that is why today, anything short of his thorough-going principles is insufficient. For nothing affects the situation very much unless the new Negro and the new white man can begin to live, right now, the new life that will some day be the rule between the races. When hands are clasped as a symbol of victory over ignorance, superstition, greed, and fear, the widespread fingers,—symbols, instead, of perpetual separatism—fall very naturally together. Why not clasp hands so firmly that they stay together always?

Kenyon Allen

Annunciation

PROVOKER of the Spring, I tell the rills
To flutter downward from their nests, the hills,
Like silver birds that break their shells of ice.
I greet the willows with their silver mice.
I shout to March, who with the rains for broom
Sweeps the last snow like cobwebs from her room.
I speak to maple trees, whose cold pale blood
Trickles down birchen runlets in a flood
To sweeten men in cities far away.
Spring's prophet—half in earnest, half in play—
I call down a woodchuck hole, "It's time to wake!"
Or in a pasture thicket kneel to shake
Snow from the first arbutus leaves and say
"Stir little buds and bear the coral of May!"
Also I lean and whisper to a birch
(White as the steeple of the village church)
"Hasten, you twigs, and weave each brown cocoon
Whence breaks a green-winged butterfly of June!"
I shout to tell the oaks it's time to brim
Their boughs with sap up which the leaves may swim
Like small green trout. At every pool I stop
To let my rebel whisper surely drop
Down to each silver piper: "Comrades, wake!
And let your songs, like the earth's flowers, break
The quiet buds of your throats. The great hours come,
And marsh and pool and pond must not be dumb!"

Yet when at last Spring's here, and all men see
Her silver mice on every willow tree;
When peepers, woodchucks, birches, butterflies
Create a fair . . . and humorous . . . Paradise:
Men will accept it, but will never know
To whom they owe the Spring—nor what they owe.

E. MERRILL ROOT

Mr. Cortez and Mr. Kellogg

Mexico in 1519 and Mexico in 1927

HUBERT C. HERRING

THERE was some excuse for Mr. Cortez. He had been trained in a bad school. He had learned an unwholesome reliance upon the sword, and an indecent respect for kings. He thought the True Cross the talisman of empire, and the name of Jesus Christ the excuse for butchery. Mr. Cortez was consistent. He pillaged for the glory of God.

There is no excuse for Mr. Kellogg. He cannot fall back upon the glory of God. Even his Republican schooling should have taught him a decent respect for the rights of weaker people. Oil concessions and quit-claim deeds make but a sorry showing beside the gleaming crosses of Cortez. Conquerors should at least be ornamental. Mr. Kellogg's conquest has not even glamor.

I am just back from Mexico. I read the rumors of war with Mexico. I hear the question raised, Shall we have war?

It is an idle question, this. We are already at war with Mexico, and the war has been raging merrily for many months.

We wage war with paper bullets. We threaten Mexico. Our threats undermine her stability. They serve as indirect invitations to every disgruntled general to march in and occupy the scene.

Our paper bullets are cheap. They cost us nothing, unless we count Mr. Kellogg's time. They cost us no bloodshed, no agony, and no remorse. It is a cheap and nasty war.

Our paper bullets are not cheap in the Mexican accounting. They threaten to overturn the best government which Mexico has ever had, and to undo the work of a hundred and seventeen years' war for freedom.

The present situation between Mexico and the United States cries out to the chivalry of every citizen of the land. We as a nation have prided ourselves upon our chivalry. We, too, have fought for freedom. We, too, have suffered tyranny. We should be the first to stand with a people who are emerging from four hundred years of misery and unrelieved defeat, and who for the first time in that four hundred years have reasonable grounds for faith in the realization of their dreams.

The war is on. It is being waged without the consent of the American people. The voices of protest are already being heard. If they are not more general it is because the American people know nothing about Mexico, do not understand her history, and are not aware of the tremendous moral force which develops within her borders.

The people of America are of decent stuff. If they knew Mexico, if they knew what our present policy spells in terms of human life and happiness, they would raise a protest against the present attitude of the United States Department of State which would sweep Mr. Kellogg to a well earned rest. But the people of America do not understand, and there's the pity.

MEXICO has a program. That fact cannot be too often reiterated. The Mexican government is not rushing madly about, stirring up a fight for the fight's sake, without plan and without purpose. It has a program, soundly conceived, ably executed.

The program of Mexico must be understood against the background of her history.

That means the understanding of the four hundred years ushered in by the advent of Cortez. It means understanding the systematic looting of the land by the Spaniards, the impoverishment of her resources, the coercion of her people, and their enslavement in illiteracy and peonage.

It means understanding the moral force of the wars for political and economic freedom which began in 1810 and culminated in the revolution of Francisco Madero in 1910.

It means a due respect for the devotion of the people to their leaders. The priest Hidalgo and the priest Morelos, daring the entrenched power of Spain, the intrepid Benito Juarez, and the devoted Madero—these belong to Mexico. No one understands Mexico not knowing them.

It means a sympathetic appraisal of the social wrongs under which Mexico has labored. Stripped of lands, deprived of education, worked as a slave upon the lands of his masters—the Mexican emerges, crying out in pain and resentment. No one understands Mexico without understanding her wrongs.

The program of Mexico cannot be understood unless there be recognition of the divergence of cultures. The people of Mexico are not Anglo-Saxons. They are Indians, with a thin veneer of Spanish culture. They do not think in Anglo-Saxon terms. They have inherited a different conception of beauty, of duty, of law.

There is color in Mexico. There is a glamor to the Mexican scene which describes the spirit within. Life

is highly seasoned. Their food has too much pepper in it, their pleasures are too robust for our taste, and their political measures take on forms which are unintelligible to us. Whether we approve or disapprove is aside the mark. The point to be remembered is: these people have their own culture, their own ways of thinking and of doing, and they are entitled to these ways.

FIRST, the campaign for efficiency and economy in government.

There is graft in Mexico. The Mexicans admit it. Everyone who does business in Mexico admits it. There is graft in high places and in low. People actually take bribes. Not all judges are honest. Even policemen are not always above suspicion.

There is plenty of graft. The Mexican is inclined to be puzzled by the righteous indignation which his American neighbors shower upon him. He reads our papers. He reads about Fall and Doheny and Daugherty and other notable men—and laughs. The high indignation of his American neighbors seems a bit grotesque. We cannot enlighten him, and prove the distinction between big bribes in black bags and little bribes between friends.

President Calles has done much to eliminate graft. A good many of the grafters are out of a job. The government of the country is upon a more honest basis than at any time in its history.

President Calles has done much to cut down the number of unnecessary generals, unnecessary railroad employees, superfluous clerks in government offices.

President Calles has succeeded in toning up the whole economic structure of the country. He has balanced his budget. Mexico is paying her way.

THE second objective of the Mexican program is popular education. The people of Mexico cannot read or write. The figure of illiteracy is at least sixty per cent.; it may be much higher.

The program of education is the chief pride of the Mexican government. Whether you talk with the President of the Republic, the Minister of War, or the Minister of Agriculture, there is one subject upon which all are enthusiastic—the schools of Mexico.

Dr. J. M. Puig Casauranc, the Minister of Education, and Señor Moises Saenz, the Assistant Minister, never tire upon the subject of their rural schools, their normal schools, and the various types of experimental schools in which they delight. They are under marching orders, they are not content unless at least a thousand new rural schools are established each year. They are sending these rural school teachers out to the villages which are tucked away back in the mountains, where the illiteracy is perilously near one hundred per cent.

Not only schools, but good schools. Señor Saenz said last summer in Chicago that "nowhere have I seen better examples of a socialized school than in some of these rural schools in Mexico." Professor John Dewey, after quoting Señor Saenz, adds, "I am willing to go further and say that there is no educational movement in the world which exhibits more of the spirit of intimate union of school activities with those of the community than is found in this Mexican development."

THE third objective of the Mexican government is the restoration of the alienated rights of the Mexican people. That spells land. The battle cry of the revolution was *Tierra y Libertad!* Land is liberty in Mexico: it is the only kind of liberty which the Mexican Indian can understand: the liberty to possess land of one's own. It is the right which his fathers possessed centuries before the first white man ever set foot upon Mexican shores. It is the right whose reclamation has been the dearest ambition of every Mexican patriot during the past century of revolution.

The land question in Mexico has two perfectly intelligible sides. On the one hand is the man with the deed. He may be an American, or an Englishman, or a Mexican. He may hold a few thousand, or several hundred thousands of acres. On the other hand is the Mexican Indian, who has worked as a slave upon the land of his master.

The large landowner—and most of the land of Mexico has been held in large units—says: See, I have a deed. It is all regular and in due form. It is signed, sealed and registered. You would take away that which is rightfully mine.

The Government, representing the millions who do not own land, replies, This land belonged to the people of Mexico for centuries. It was held by the villages in the old *ejidos,* the common lands of the Indians. These common lands were, by the Indian law, inalienable. No judgment could be brought against them. There was possible no clouding of their titles. They belonged to the group, and were to be passed on from generation to generation. But these lands were taken from the people, and given to men who already had great estates. When the revolution came in 1910, the first task of its leaders was to find a way of restoring their ancient rights of land and liberty to the twelve millions who were without land, or liberty, or hope. This is our purpose.

But, argues the land holder, This is confiscation.

Not so, says the government. We simply exercise the right of eminent domain. We take property for the good of the state. We will pay you for your property.

Pay? But with what? rejoins the owner.

We will pay you with Mexican bonds, says the government.

But your bonds are not good, replies the land owner. They are not worth twenty-five cents on the dollar.

This is Mexico, replies the government. You come here, you accept our hospitality, you must also accept our laws. We declare that these bonds are legal tender. So long as you choose to live and do business in Mexico, you must accept the terms we lay down.

This is Bolshevism, remarks the land owner. With this, he goes to the Embassy, talks long and earnestly with Mr. Sheffield, and explains the whole matter. Mr. Sheffield understands perfectly. He is a good lawyer, and the fine flower of the National Republican Committee. He knows laws, and is an expert on deeds, mortgages, and all such. Mr. Sheffield writes to Mr. Kellogg, and Mr. Kellogg sees his old friend the Red Terror again stalking the earth.

So the fat is in the fire, plenty of fat, plenty of fire, and no one seems to understand anyone else.

THE fourth objective of the Mexican government is the safeguarding of her natural resources. That spells oil, and coal, and gold—but the greatest of these is oil.

The Spanish law, and the Indian tradition behind it, made all products of the sub-soil the possession of the state. This was written into every constitution. But laws and constitutions meant nothing to Porfirio Diaz. He bravely signed away the rights of the people, and gave concessions which today cause all the trouble.

The Mexican government is attempting to meet this situation. It offered terms which seemed acceptable to the majority of the oil companies. That they were not accepted must be laid at the doors of someone else. Who told the oil companies to refuse Mexico's terms? What pledges of support were held out as a reward? These are questions which America would like answered.

It is not an easy situation. There is undoubtedly an element of confiscation in the present oil laws. There are undoubtedly a host of very bad concessions and bad titles. The whole thing is a tangle of corruption and mischief. The Mexican government attempts to find some way out. Whether their way is wise or unwise, I will not venture to say. Whether they have a right to conduct their own affairs in their own way is to be determined.

THE fifth objective of the Mexican government is the determination to be free from the interference of the religious hierarchy. I cannot enter into any details of the religious controversy. Suffice it to say that no one can read Mexican history with calm eye and not understand the historical roots of the present attitude toward the church. Not without cause is the church accused of being the persistent champion of reaction, the ever ready chaplain of privilege, the foe of popular education. The good which the church has done is not given due credit, and the bad is often overstated. The anti-clericals in Mexico are carried away by their hostility, and are expressing it in dangerous terms. It is dangerous to suppress freedom of speech, freedom of worship. I believe that the government of Mexico will meet the church half way in any genuine effort to bring the church back to a place of genuine spiritual leadership. Both sides are at present giving an exaggerated expression of their feelings. There is no sign of weakening or of yielding. I feel deeply for the great spirits within the Roman church of Mexico. They are passing through bitter days. I also believe profoundly in the essential justice of the government's attitude. They can take no other. I believe that out of the present chaos the Church of Rome will come with new power to minister to the people. Mexico is Catholic, and always will be. Mexico will grow, and so will the church.

THE sixth objective of the Mexican government is the winning of freedom from foreign intervention and interference. Mexico demands the right which we demand for ourselves, to make our own laws in our own way, to develop our national institutions without hindrance, to make our own mistakes.

Nicaragua serves as a symbol. Mexico is not greatly concerned about Sacasa, but Mexico is concerned for the independence of Latin America. The recognition of Sacasa, in defiance of the United States, is a declaration of independence directed at Washington. By this act, Mexico is saying in no uncertain terms, Our day is come, our day of privilege and of responsibility: we may be weak, we may be torn by civil dissension, but we will not sit idly by and see a weaker nation crushed by the colossus of the north.

The Nicaraguan incident reveals the weakness which is at the heart of our American policy. Our State Department has advanced no decent and satisfying excuse for its recognition of the puppet Diaz: it can find none: there is none.

What next? The United States has several courses from which to choose. The present administration in Washington must decide.

We can have war, actual war, with arms and men and all the accoutrements. It will be a war to protect the dollar rights of a handful of American citizens. It will precipitate years of revolution in Mexico, it will undo the gains of all the years of bloodshed, it will postpone indefinitely the realization of the Mexican dream of peace. It will cost us bloodshed—some: money—more. It will yield some territory, perhaps: the right to more oil: fifteen millions of enemies: and the obloquy of generations.

Or we can continue the present war, a war of paper

bullets. We can continue to harass Mexico with brusque and discourteous notes. This will cost us nothing, but it will accomplish the same ends. It will undermine the strength of the Calles administration, and will in all probability throw Mexico back into civil strife. It will win for us neither oil nor land nor friends. It will write another unsavory chapter into the record of American maladroitness in Latin America.

Or we can take our hands off. We can give Mexico the chance to prove her case. We can forego our rights. This may cost us oil wells and land rights, but it will gain us friends. Mexico has leadership which should weather the storm. They will do it if we give them the chance.

The appeal is to our belated sense of chivalry. This new nation, struggling against the entail of injustice accumulated through four hundred years of unspeakable tyrannies, at last finds hope in a government which is honest and able. The life of that nation is today at our mercy. We can stifle it if we will. We can snuff it out. Our grandchildren will read of the sodden days when the people of the United States had so far forgotten their own struggles for freedom as to be indifferent to the struggles of other peoples.

The hope of the situation is the aroused intelligence of the American people. The State Department seems hopelessly aligned with the most stupid and insolent of the trouble makers. The White House seems theoretically devoted to peace, and practically devoid of any saving imagination. The Senate shows a more hopeful spirit.

But let the people continue to speak as they have been speaking for the past month. Let them say again and again, Hands off! and if enough of them say it, their voices will carry even to the inner offices of the American Department of State.

The sentence of death or of life for the government of Mexico will be signed in Washington, and soon.

Now is the time to speak.

National Sovereignty and Peace

ANONYMOUS

TWO waves of world wide enthusiasm for radical disarmament have passed since the close of the Great War. Both broke before the responsible statesmen reacted to them. The first arose immediately after the Armistice and was especially large in the Anglo-Saxon countries; the second belongs to the time of the Geneva Protocol and was particularly concerned with the relations between France and Germany. We are now living at a time when the political atmosphere in Europe, cleansed by the Locarno Agreements, once again offers opportunities which, if not grasped, may never return.

In the first post-war years the vicious circle: "No disarmament without security and no security without disarmament" rendered futile all efforts toward a reduction or even limitation of armaments. At the time of the Protocol the problem of security seemed to have been solved theoretically by the introduction of a new element; the principle of arbitration. The way seemed clear for disarmament. Subsequently a disproportionate appreciation of the technical difficulties of the latter caused a highly dangerous delay. These were, however, more or less sham difficulties. It soon leaked out that the real reason for the unquestionable failure of the League of Nations in the field of disarmament had all along been due to the metaphysical fiction of national sovereignty which was still too strong to permit any progress. Now, disarmament has fallen into the hands of "the experts," viz., a "Preparatory Commission" whose business it is to prepare the long expected World's Disarmament Conference. The date seems still distant.

WHAT are the causes of these new delays? The discussions in the Third Commission of the Seventh Assembly of the League showed clearly that the crux of the disarmament problem lies in the concept of absolute state sovereignty, which has become legally undefendable since the foundation of the Society of Nations. This notion has not only been the cause of the shortcomings of the Covenant (omission of a general Arbitration Pact, of a general Minority Convention, etc.), but it has proved to be the real stumbling block to all future movements for world organization and co-operation for peace. What we need now is a combined effort against the obstacles which this obsolete principle, with its absurdities and evil effects, puts in the way of international co-operation.

It is said that the recognition of national sovereignty forms part of international law. But since international law is evidently a super-state law, the so-called sovereignty of the states, viz., their political irresponsibility, is limited by international law itself. Besides, absolute sovereignty is logically impossible unless one state is subordinate to the other. The dogma, therefore, has become legally untenable in course of time,

nd in particular since the foundation of the League vhich has given fresh impulse to international law by roviding certain "sovereign actions" with sanctions. overeignty, in a legal sense, of a state today means ot only a negation of international law, but also a ne- ation of the League of Nations. International law, vhich always suffered from the lack of a center, now as one in Geneva and has therefore become almost ndependent of state law.

It is true that when the League was founded emi- ent jurists hastily declared it to be an *institutio sui eneris* in order to save the principle of national sov- ereignty. Yet it is obvious that the League is the most formidable step toward the supra-national "civitas maxima" that has ever been taken. Its state members, n order to preserve their sovereignty with the assis- tance of others, limit and therefore destroy this sov- ereignty by submitting to a higher political power. But even today in theory and practice the application of nternational law wavers unstably between the subjec- tivistic sovereignty of state law and the objectivistic sovereignty of League of Nations law, and the many neaded hydra of war is still alive. The League idea, however, goes its way, slowly but surely in spite of its mis-interpretation. It will in due time realize the need of super-state legislation, for even now it becomes clear that the League has, and rightly, an organic tendency to limit national *unrestrictedness*. This constitutes its immense superiority to all other international institutions.

We meet the paralyzing effects of the recognition of the principle of national sovereignty in all the ac- tivities of the League, but especially as regards arbitra- tion. While it is true that a great number of inter- state arbitration treaties have been registered with the League, it is undeniable that relatively their compe- tence is very small. They refer almost without excep- tion to purely legal disputes. Here the dogma of po- litical sovereignty prevents an extension of the princi- ples of arbitration to those disputes which concern what is called the vital interests of a nation.

WHAT are the other burning questions of today? Disarmament, Minorities, Mandates, Migra- tion, Economic Unions. In all these we find the League greatly impeded by the same reactionary ele- ment which is nothing but the idea of the inviolability of the pre-League theory of sovereignty. We must be clear that it is the question of international control of reduction of armaments which threatens to obstruct the work of the Preparatory Commission; that it is the refusal of certain states to conclude Minority Treaties which compromises the League's protection of minorities; that it is the mis-interpretation of the status of mandates which, by way of the rejection of the much discussed questionnaire, affects adversely the working of the administration of the mandates; and that the two most urgent questions in the economic field, that of migration and of financial and economic unions, will be neglected by the International Economic Conference to be held next May. All these difficulties are the direct outcome of and intimately connected with the rigid principle of the untouchability of na- tional sovereignty. Although this principle only ap- plies to the strong military powers, all the smaller na- tions cling to it in the belief that it somehow compen- sates them for their supposed international unimpor- tance.

The theory of absolute state sovereignty and its two corollaries, vital interests and national honor, will for- tunately lose ground with every year of the existence of the League. Movements similar to the Pan-Euro- pean movement, but on a smaller scale, will certainly contribute to its slow decay. Another instrument for its destruction is arbitration, which should be more than pure mediation. The progress of universal arbitra- tion is the barometer of the progress of international co-operation. We must come to the understanding, and the sooner we do so the better, that patriotism can do without the slogan "my country, right or wrong"; that this unethical principle is in the end a political absurdity and that, to speak in the words of Professor Barnes: "The concept of national honor is not an adjunct of national dignity or world order, but a criterion and stigma of international lawlessness com- parable to duelling and lynch law within the state." International law in pre-League days recognized that war, no matter how aggressive, produces legal results. It thus implied the dependency of law on force. This is what has compromised its value. We have lived to see the dawn of another era in which the state is only as "sovereign" as is compatible with the sovereignty of the community of states, the League of Nations, or, in other words, compatible with the sovereignty of international law as expressed in the Covenant of the League.

The Conquerors

I SEE the children playing in the lane.
The girl lies lazy in a streak of sun;
The boy chases a top that he has spun,
Snatches it up, and whips it down again.
Their tinkling voices patter like soft rain . . .
The toddler, spying father, starts to run
With bright, impatient arms. . . . I see each one
As in a mirror, distant, cool and plain.

They are my children. Though they meet my eyes
Today like strangers, my whole life must go
Footing with theirs. They are a misty force
That bends my every act. I wished it so.
Beneath what magic and what far-off skies
Did I create these foreign conquerors!

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY.

Notes from the Philippines

ANNA ROCHESTER

Manila, December 23, 1926.

"WE are lumber men from Seattle. That older man over there is president of a rubber company. There's another rubber man on board but I don't see him now. Yes, I've just been ordered out to the Philippines—going down to the Island of Negros. My wife's coming next month. Don't know how long we shall stay. All this uncertainty about American occupation is a bad thing for business." Thus did a man who happened to sit at our table on the boat from Shanghai to Hongkong give us the gist of an introduction to the Philippine situation.

Sailing into Manila Bay, spacious, beautiful harbor called the finest in the Orient, and noting the pride with which American fellow passengers point out the great wireless station, the fortifications, and the headquarters of the naval base at Cavite, one realizes how much "ours" are these vexing islands. Just as the British imprint on Hongkong is unmistakable, and the idea of a voluntary withdrawal from the colonial palace, the fortifications, and the landlocked roadstead of Hongkong is grotesquely absurd, so in Manila one realizes with a wave of discouragement that Americans feel we have a perfect right to be here and have come to stay.

Our presidents adorn the Philippine postage stamps; a lovely Spanish square in the walled city has long since been named Plaza McKinley; the boulevard along the waterfront, the American rebuilding (with Filipino money) of the first mile or so of the drive to Cavite, appears on the city map (1920) as Cavite Boulevard but is now posted as Dewey Boulevard; the new streets in land opened up since the Americans came are named for the states of the Union—little things, but straws that show a trend.

All the current American viewpoints here reenforce the opposition to independence. Officially the administration is committed to the job of teaching all Filipinos to speak and read English and to the supervision of the Filipino government until stability—which admittedly characterizes the government today—can be guaranteed to continue both as to possible internal disorders and defense against foreign aggression after the Americans withdraw. In the only official interview given out by the Governor General in recent years (included, by the way, in an envelope of material which is handed to all inquirers at Malacañang Palace) General Wood was asked, "You believe the Filipinos to be potentially capable of self-government?" He replied, "Potentially, yes. But to translate this potentiality into an actuality will take a long time—somewhere perhaps between a half and a full century."

One official surprised us by admitting that colonial conditions are too unsettled throughout the East to make it fair for one white power to consider withdrawing; it would disturb the very delicate situations in India and Java.

The issue of economic imperialism scarcely appears in the independence material. One or two labor leaders—and possibly the rank and file of the cigar workers' union and the printers' union—are keenly aware of the economic basis of our control. But Senator Osmeña and Speaker Roxas and other political leaders with whom we talked clearly stated that they want American capital, in moderation, and will adjust their laws to invite it. They are not prepared, however, to promise any amendment of the land law to allow a rubber company a tract larger than 2,500 acres.

ONE element, often overlooked, that has strengthened the popular determination to have independence is the perfectly apparent tone of white superiority which prevails among Americans in Manila. Crude generalizations about the inferiority of the Malay race permeate the American books on the Philippines and have doubtless enraged the well-educated and exceedingly able English-reading public among the Filipinos. The racial discriminations in Manila life are an even more potent stimulus toward eliminating the authority of these "superior" Americans.

When we landed at Manila, we went to a small American hotel. A Filipino whom we had known in New York when she was taking her A.M. at Columbia came shortly to see us with a friend of hers who is a newspaper man. As we talked with them about our plans and they suggested the various Filipinos whom they wanted us to see, it transpired that Filipinos were made most uncomfortable in calling at that hotel. The army and navy take the lead in social discrimination, but the Elks' Club, with its spacious clubhouse on the Luneta next to the Army and Navy Club, also excludes Filipinos. At the American-European branch of the Y. M. C. A. no American may bring a Filipino guest into the dining room. Only the Rotary Club practices no such social discrimination, and as yet the big Manila Hotel is decently cosmopolitan.

The natural reaction to this "superiority" doctrine has been a tendency on the part of the Filipinos to understate the actual achievements in education and sanitation carried out under American leadership, and to play up out of all true perspective the work done since the Filipinization of the service under Governor Harrison. Americans, on the other hand, boast of our

service here as if it had been given by the American people. Actually the salary of American executives and the building of schools, roads, and sanitary engineering projects—all the expenses of government in the Islands have been paid for by Filipino money. Since our earliest years in the Islands Filipinos have been in the majority in the civil service and in the schools. It is one of the tragedies of the American record that when Governor Harrison came out here, personally committed to the pushing of independence and backed by an administration committed to independence, he discredited for years to come the policy he was supposed to further, by using poor judgment in selecting his Filipino appointees for responsible executive positions. Now the opponents of independence point to the inefficiency of those poorly chosen Filipino executives and the Filipinos try to bolster up their case with a different story of those eight years. Neither side tells the facts fairly nor draws quite fair conclusions from them.

General Wood doubtless offends by the military abruptness of his orders and by the assumption that he is responsible for efficient administration in internal affairs, but on the other hand he lives up to the best military tradition in accepting blame that belongs to a subordinate and in maintaining a dignified silence when his own share in some incident is misrepresented. We had the privilege of an hour's talk with General and Mrs. Wood at Baguio (the mountain "capital," where he is still living quietly to regain strength since last summer's illness) and we were stirred to great respect for the dispassionate, impersonal way in which he analyzed his view of the situation. The Governor's attitude was in marked contrast to the rather emotional diatribes against the Filipinos to which certain American acquaintances in Manila had treated us.

Many details of the conflict are already well known in America. Possibly two incidents of the last year have escaped attention.

Last July when the beautiful new Legislative Building was opened it bore over the main portico the following inscription:

ERECTED BY THE FILIPINO PEOPLE AS MONUMENT TO RIGHTS WON AND DEDICATED BY THEM TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

According to the *Philippine Education Magazine* for October (edited by Americans) this "was ordered removed by the Governor General because the article 'a' necessary before the word 'monument' has been omitted, and because the whole inscription had been unauthorized."

Washington's Birthday last year was observed throughout the Islands by Catholics and Protestants alike as a day of prayer for independence. High Mass was celebrated on the Luneta, the great park-like square on the waterfront. Shortly after the 20,000 worshippers had dispersed, some 4,000 American soldiers, the garrison from Fort McKinley, paraded through the square. It was perhaps natural that a parade in honor of the Commandant who was leaving two weeks later should be held on our national holiday, but to the Filipinos it seemed merely a crude display of authority.

The whole tangle, with rights and wrongs on both sides so far as the immediate actors in the struggle are concerned, is only one part of the gigantic conflict which becomes each year more clear-cut between the wealthy dominant powers and the less industrially developed, less highly organized groups which they control. On the simple question of stable government, it seems to me that the Filipinos are clearly in the right of it in claiming that the time has come for Congress to redeem our promise of independence. But the imperialist viewpoint distorts the definition of stability and will prolong the argument into an indefinite future. It will be settled only when we as a people, recognizing the real issues involved, so reorganize our economic life and purify our national ideals that encroachments on the liberty of other nations and peoples shall become unnecessary and intolerable.

Burning Seaweed
—Woodcut by Barbara Latham

Labor and Industry in Books

Toward Industrial Democracy

MR. LAUCK is one of that increasing number of American students of industrial relations who sees in this country an irresistible trend toward a more effective and more extensive state of industrial democracy. To them "industrial democracy" has ceased to be an empty phrase. It has acquired body and content and standards are already available by which its progress can be measured. Waves of reaction in industry, as in politics, seem from time to time to engulf this great democratic movement in industry, but, viewed historically, the setbacks so suffered are only incidental and temporary. As Mr. Lauck himself puts it: "The lamps of industrial democracy . . . will never probably shine forth as the beacons of a new era. . . . The movements which they represent, however, will go steadily but less dazzlingly forward, and in the fulness of time, industrial democracy, as in the case of political democracy, will encompass the earth. This is inevitable."

Inspired by this philosophy, Mr. Lauck, in *Political and Industrial Democracy,*[1] surveys the course of industrial democracy in American and European industry during roughly the past ten years. He describes the achievements in the conduct of war industry, the reaction following the war, the attempts in two Presidents' conferences to establish a code for government in industry, and the sequence of events during the past four years of comparative prosperity. The numerous plans of employee representation, or work's councils, or shop committees, or company unions, or industrial democracy, from the B. and O. and Nash plans to that in effect on the Pennsylvania Railroad, are described in more or less detail and are finally judged as good or bad in proportion as they satisfy the criteria essential to the achievement of a genuine industrial democracy. By this test most of the plans now in force in this country fall short of the standard; the B. and O. plan because it makes no provision for employee stock ownership, the Dennison plan because it is not democratic, the Dutchess Bleacheries plan because ultimate control rests with the employer. On the other hand, the Mitten plan is viewed with favor and regarded as "pre-eminent"; the system in effect at the Columbia Conserve Company he finds "probably the most complete and perfect illustration of direct industrial democracy which exists today"; and "from a democratic and ethical standpoint . . . the situation of the Nash Company may be considered as theoretically ideal . . ."

This book, in spite of its unquestioned excellence and usefulness, suffers from what must necessarily become a summary discussion of a highly complex and diverse industrial experience. In the process, consequently, undue importance is attached to verbal distinctions and written constitutional provisions, many of which have very little, if any, significance in practice. While, for example, Mr. Lauck unequivocally concedes an indispensable function to trade unions in his scheme of things, he fails, in my judgment, to draw a sharp enough contrast between the total achievement of a strong labor organization and of the various plans for industrial democracy considered in his book. For genuine industrial democracy must rest upon a proper distribution of the income of industry and an adequate control over the conditions of work. How far such democracy in industry prevails cannot be discovered from pronouncements and by-laws, but only by studying the distribution of wages and income and by observing directly the status of the worker in the shop and factory.

LEO WOLMAN.

[1] Published by Funk and Wagnalls. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.

Is American Labor Radical?

THOSE timid souls whose sleeping hours are haunted by horrible nightmares of a Bolshevik revolution in this country will find relief and relaxation in reading *American Labor and American Democracy,* by William English Walling. In a comprehensive manner the author traces the history of the tactics of organized labor in the United States throughout the past century. Although there has been much violence in American industrial conflicts, it has been occasioned by quarrels over wages, hours, and working conditions, and not by revolutionary action to overthrow the existing order. The political program of the American Federation of Labor, which is treated in some detail by Mr. Walling, is probably more conservative than that of Stanley Baldwin, Tory Prime Minister of Great Britain. (Published by Harper and Brothers. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.) K. P.

The New Feudalism

IN his new book, *Main Street and Wall Street,* Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard University presents in a vivid way evidence of the concentration of vast financial power in the hands of the officials of American corporations. He not only calls attention to the dangers to society inherent in the control of industry by irresponsible agents but also makes constructive suggestions as to how the existing situation may be improved. (Published by Little, Brown and Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50.) K. P.

Co-operative Democracy

THE Co-operative Movement is a growing and demonstrable fact. Thirty-six countries have a membership in their co-operative societies of 50,000,000. On a basis of four to a family, this means 200,000,000 people supplied. Most of these are in Europe, but at the close of 1926 there were 479 consumers' co-operative societies in this country with 139,301 members. James Peter Warbasse, in the second and completely revised edition of his book *Co-operative Democracy,* discusses this international movement, its philosophy, methods, accomplishments and possibilities. His examination of the co-operative movement in its relation to the state, science, art and commerce answers many questions which we in America, where the politico-economic system is so complicated, need to face. Warbasse has written a strong book on the side of co-operation. It is up to date, packed with information and filled with evidence of good wrought through these societies. (Published by Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3 postpaid.) A. A. S.

"The Dilemma of Thrift"

YOU are an American worker. You save each month what you can—and not merely because of Poor Richard's maxims. Your savings prevent you from buying to that extent, while through investment they add to production to the same amount. Which in turn leads to overproduction, close of factories, unemployment. The great incomes of the wealthy also go into production and comparatively little into consumption. There is the dilemma of thrift: "You're damned if you do it and you're damned if you don't." Read about this in **Profits** by William T. Foster and Waddill Catchings. The book is offered as a technical economic study. It is a damning indictment of our present order, a clarion call for economic justice and fairness. (Published by Houghton Mifflin Co. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, $4 postpaid.)

H. C. E.

Tradition and the Young Idea

PHILIP GIBBS, in his *Young Anarchy,* tells the story of young people in post war Britain in the throes of ideas. It is the eternal struggle and tragedy of authority and revolt, old age and youth, intolerance and escape. About the middle of the novel he takes his young people into the English labor question and politics and finishes his book with a discussion of the general strike. (Published by Doran. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, $2.)

A.A.S.

Reading List: Industrial Relations

Business and the Church, edited by Jerome Davis. Century Co.

Incentives in the New Industrial Order, by J. A. Hobson. Thomas Seltzer.

Proposed Roads to Freedom, by Bertrand Russell. Holt & Co.

The New Leadership in Industry, by Sam A. Lewisohn. E. P. Dutton.

The Tragedy of Waste, by Stuart Chase. Macmillan.

The Coal Miners' Struggle for Industrial Status, by Arthur E. Suffern. Macmillan.

American Labor and American Democracy, by William English Walling. Harpers.

The Strike for Union, by Heber Blankenhorn. H. W. Wilson Co.

New Tactics in Social Conflict, A Symposium by Harry Elmer Barnes, Stuart Chase, Scott Nearing, George Soule, etc. Vanguard Press.

Industrial Co-operation, by Catherine Webb. Co-operative Union of Canada.

The Consumers' Co-operative Movement, by Beatrice and Sidney Webb (Special Edition). Co-operative Union of Canada.

Violence and the Labor Movement, by Robert Hunter. Macmillan.

Why We Fail as Christians, by Robert Hunter. Macmillan.

The Causes of Industrial Unrest, by John Andrews Fitch. Harpers.

The Profit Motive, by Harry F. Ward. League for Industrial Democracy.

The Division of Conciliation, Its History, Activities, and Organization. Johns Hopkins Press.

History of Labor in the United States, a symposium by John R. Commons, David L. Saposs, Helen L. Sumner, E. B. Mittelman, H. E. Hoagland, etc. Macmillan.

AGNES A. SHARP.

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

A Philosophy of the State

TO present the modern state as a product of social evolution; to explain how it acquires specific functions and specific means of service, relinquishing certain claims and vindicating others; to show how through all the struggles and disturbances which have raged around its prize of power it has established its foundations more broad and more secure"—these are the objects of Professor R. M. MacIver's book, *The Modern State.*[1] They pose important problems in political theory, and Mr. MacIver has dealt with them in a competent and challenging fashion. Those readers who are not converted will at least be unable to ignore the author's arguments, and all readers will admire the courage and grand manner of this full statement of a political philosophy.

Any brief summary may do injustice to Mr. MacIver's theories, but broadly speaking, he steers a middle road between the orthodoxy of the analytical jurists and the political pluralism of recent writers. If his course veers at all, it is in the direction of the moderns; he may even be said to give a sociological interpretation of political pluralism. He views the state "as an association among others," and as having "the character of a corporation." The state is simply an organ of the community, and sovereignty is "the will of an association, not of the community." With these premises, Mr. MacIver discusses such historical questions as the emergence of the state, the early empires, and the beginnings of citizenship, and outlines his beliefs on the limits of political control, the residence of authority, the concepts of law and order, and the relations between politics and economics.

One general criticism that may be made is that much of the argument has an air of unreality. This is perhaps not altogether fair to Mr. MacIver, for his intention was to deal with the abstract rather than the concrete. It is true nevertheless that the problems considered seem too frequently problems of terms and definitions, and unconnected directly with the solutions that may be suggested for governmental riddles. Mr. MacIver has read widely, and exhibits an extended knowledge of the political forms now embodied in the constitutions of the world. He believes that the purposes of the state may best be served by democratic government, and he realizes the necessity of articulating his theories with the parts of the machinery that must ascertain and execute the will of the state. The chapters on the relations of governmental powers and on the party system, however, are so general —even so traditional—that they fail to indicate the tremendous difficulties always encountered in translating theory into actuality. This portion of his work suffers greatly in comparison with Mr. Laski's *Grammar of Politics.*

Mr. MacIver's style is always urbane and precise. It is a fit dress for his thoughts. His work is a worthy successor to the treatises on political philosophy which have come from such distinguished English writers as T. H. Green and Bosanquet. Mr. MacIver ably carries on the tradition. This is high praise, but it is deserved.

LINDSAY ROGERS.

[1] Published by The Clarendon Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $7 postpaid.

Juvenile Delinquency

THE best of case historians, William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, have turned their hands to the statistical interpretation of juvenile delinquency with disconcerting results. Every chip from that workshop is precious but the chips this time have fallen in such amazing patterns that the eager student turns from them with something like dismay.

The lead which inspired their work, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking,*[1] is incontestably sound. To determine the wisdom of our methods of dealing with the youthful offender—through the juvenile court, the mental clinic, the probation system—we must trace him step-by-step through his subsequent career. This our authors have done in a series of illuminating case studies drawn from their experience in Chicago. In the twenty illustrative cases which are thus detailed we get an excellent analysis of the factors of personality and of treatment which determined the success or the failure of the procedure adopted in the several cases.

Doubtless it was worth while, also, to shame us by a disclosure of the large percentage of failure in the result of our present methods. To get at this fact our authors made a follow-up study of some 675 cases of repeated juvenile offenders studied by them in Chicago between 1909 and 1914 and continued to 1921-1923, and similar studies of two Boston groups of 400 each covering the period from 1909-1914 to 1923. Most readers of this record must have experienced a shock on learning that sixty-one per cent of the boys in the Chicago series (though only forty-six per cent of the girls) turned out to be failures, the failure in nearly all cases being evidenced by subsequent criminal careers. What, then, can we make of the fact that the Boston study, doubtless made with equal thoroughness, shows only twenty-one to twenty-six per cent of subsequent criminal court records, while fifty per cent of the Chicago cases are in that category? What are we to infer from this contrast: that Chicago is twice as wicked as Boston? that Boston's juvenile court procedure is twice as good as that of Chicago? or that the Chicago cases were selected on a different basis from those of Boston? It is a pity to be obliged to leave this puzzle unsolved. Apart from all this, however, it is only just to say, in conclusion, that this work is a mine of interesting and valuable information with respect to delinquency, which no student of the subject can afford to omit from his reading.

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY.

The Nature of the World

A BOOK of wisdom and brilliance and of a third incomparable quality is *The New Universe,* by Professor Baker Brownell, professor of contemporary thought at Northwestern University. The third quality is one as rare as that which dawned on American letters with the publication of "The Education of Henry Adams." That book marked the entrance into biography of something more mellow, more integrated, more European, than anything that we as a people had put forth. *The New Universe* does the converse—it loosens and simplifies and de-formalizes our scientific writing and presents the fabric of a sound scholarship, shot through and through with threads of pure American gold. While we have always believed in and enjoyed our American quality, our casualness, our lack of ceremony, our refusal to be impressed, we have put this delicately behind us in fiction and essays and occasional papers. But in science rarely. As soon as we discuss science we set in all our particles, become heavy, formal and traditional—and the few exceptions have not escaped very far.

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ZONA GALE.

(Published by Van Nostrand. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, $4.)

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New Schools for Older Students, by Nathaniel Peffer. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. 5 x 7. 250 pages. $2.50. One of a series based on studies of adult education made for the Carnegie Corporation and should be read with that in mind. It is a serious examination of some of the experiments in adult education.

Shall India Live or Die? by Annie Besant. The National Home Rule League, 1925. 5 x 7½. 159 pages. $1.25. Two-thirds of the volume is used in summarizing facts and figures, in matters on which the life of the nation depends. Written to prove the inefficiency of British rule in India. The author holds that Britain and India have a joint mission to the world which would fail if India should fight for and win independence. She urges Dominion Home Rule, Swaraj, Dominion Status.

The Church and Social Relations, by Hubert C. Herring and Benson Y. Landis. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1926. 4 x 6½. 157 pages. $1. A text for discussion groups based on the statements of social ideals of one of the leading Christian denominations. For study purposes, it is divided into five sections: Education, Industry, Agriculture, Race and International Relations. A sound text packed with data and references to wide areas of information.

Preface to a Life, by Zona Gale. New York: Appleton, 1926. 7½ x 5¼. 346 pages. $2. A decent regard for the proprieties causes us to refrain from praising overmuch this latest novel by one of our own *World Tomorrow* family. We will say this, in the reserved manner of a not-to-be-named auto concern, it is just a good book.

American Economic Life, by Tugwell, Munro, and Stryker. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925. 8¼ x 6. 633 pages. $4.50. It costs more and is worth it. Here you find facts and interpretations by three members of the economic staff of Columbia University. It is a text book, and more.

The Advancing South, by Edwin Mims. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926. 8½ x 5½. 316 pages. $3. It is high time that this book should appear. We have heard much of the backwardness, bigotry, and suppression of thought in the South, but we need to be told, as Professor Mims has done so vividly, of the rapid strides that are being made in education, journalism, politics and religion.

Adventurous Religion, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: Harpers, 1926. 8 x 5½. 326 pages. $2. The appearance of a new volume by the foremost preacher of our time is an event. This book, like its predecessors, will help many a doubter to find a deeper faith, and many a dawdler to discover increased vitality.

A Man Could Stand Up. By Ford Madox Ford. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1926. 7½ x 5¼. $2.50. Captain Tietjens, Valentine Wannop and the War.

Turkey. By Arnold J. Toynbee and Kenneth P. Kirkwood. New York: Scribner's, 1927. 9 x 6. 329 pages. $3. The "Sick Man of Europe" of the nineteenth century has shown astonishing power of survival in the twentieth. Here is an excellent survey of Turkey since 1919, especially valuable for its treatment of many vexing problems.

The Meaning of a Liberal Education. By Everett Dean Martin. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1926. 8¾ x 5¾. 319 pages. $3. A notable attempt to probe into the extremely important question, how education can help us to "see life and see it whole" and also give us "light and laughter." It is one of the "Lectures in Print" series.

Opium: The Demon Flower. By Sara Graham-Mulhall. New York: Montrose Publishing Co., 1926. 7½ x 5¼. 310 pages. $2.50. The story of the fight on opium and its devastating effects, written "that the people of the world may join in uprooting the opium poppy." This splendid crusading volume won the $5,000 award of *Pictorial Review* for Distinguished Achievement.

Modern Industrial Consolidation, by J. George Frederick. New York: Frank-Maurice, 1926. 9½ x 6½. 397 pages. $7.50. The author is enthusiastic over the trend toward industrial consolidation, but reveals little understanding of the terrific social menace inherent in unrestrained economic power.

The Comedians, by Louis Couperus. New York: Doran, 1926. 5 x 6½. 365 pages. $2.50. A story of ancient Rome in the time of Domitian. Kaleidoscopic, with little plot; an historical novel with an extremely frank picture of Roman manners.

The Twilight of the White Races, by Maurice Muret. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. 8¾ x 5¾. 286 pages. $3. Strong medicine for smug Nordics and apostles of Anglo-Saxon dominance.

The Complete Playcraft Book, by Patten Beard. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1926. 8¼ x 5½. 364 pages. $2.50. When we finished going over it, we rose as one man (the only way one man could rise) and chanted: Make me a child again, just for to-night!

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Q.: Which of the above would you prefer to see eliminated or reduced?

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10th

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The Last Page

SAID an inquirer to a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church, "Do you believe there is any way to heaven other than that provided by your denomination?" "Well," answered the minister frankly," perhaps there may be, but if there is, no gentleman would avail himself of it."

* * *

And while the stories are being passed, let me not forget the one I heard the other day about the aristocratic woman of a town in the South, from which Negroes had gone to the North almost in wholesale numbers. "Aren't you glad to see them go?" asked a Nordic-conscious acquaintance. Said the aristocrat, "Indeed I'm not." "Knowing your views, I just can't understand that," said the friend; "for goodness' sake, why not?" "Because," returned the estimable Southern lady, with candor, "if all the colored people move out there won't be anybody left for me to be better *than.*"

* * *

New York is all het up about stage censorship. And as usual, every show that is raided finds itself saved from financial ruin through the flocks of geophagists who come out to see it. (No, you'll have to look that one up yourself; the word's worth knowing.) My remedy is simple and would be, I feel, at once effective. Literature should be circulated by reformers urging every public school pupil, every high school boy and girl, and every college student, to see these plays as a part of the course essential to education and right living; and the educational value of the plays should be stressed everywhere among the general public. In short, they should be advertised by all reformers as instructive, uplifting, and indispensable to the intellectual equipment of every moral person. Whereupon, in less than three days, the seats would be empty, the box office would close, the reform would be accomplished, and you wouldn't be able to drag anybody to one of these "miserable so-called educational plays" by any bribe or exhibition of armed force. *Voila!*

* * *

I see that a lot of ministers are being asked to preach on the subject: "If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach." That's what I call the least bit embarrassing, but after all it may be a worthwhile idea. There'll be a good many pastors after this experience who will have two sermons ready, at any rate—this one and the one they had before.

* * *

THE other night I had a terrible dream. I dreamed the air forces of the United States government had dropped gas bombs all the way from here to Patagonia, exterminating every man, woman, child and oil profiteer. The whole continent had been wiped out, south of the Rio Grande. My dream continued as I thought I was reading the comments of the current perio cals, which ran something like this:

The Nation: "This outrageous holocaust, this blot on civili tion, is the final fruitage of that policy which the Kellog Coolidges, and custodians of our financial imperialism have fois on the world. Will the people take this terrible lesson sitti down, or will they rise and utter a protest which will be hea in the councils of the Government? We believe they will heard from, and the only questions are, just how, and when?"

The New Republic: "While complete details are lacking, a until they are received, it will be too early to estimate the exte of the blunder which has been made in Washington, it seer clear already that governments cannot continue ruthlessly to e tend their sway by force, however great may seem the financi rewards, without these perennial upheavals. At this junctur what is most demanded is not emotional excitement, but co analysis of the facts; and as soon as these are in, dispassiona but firm action to see that no such stupid mistakes as this m ever happen again."

The Christian Century: "This terrible crime, committed in th name of righteousness and liberty, must have taught the Mexica people—though it is too late, alas, for the lesson to help—th their suspicions of the League, the Catholics, Federal Council, an in fact, everybody, were not without foundation. Will the *Chicag Tribune* now be satisfied in its insatiate lust for conquest?"

The Forum: "In our next issue we shall present both sides o the timely and significant question, 'Was Intervention Justified? One article will be by a prominent American statesman and th other by a Latin-American—provided there are any left. If on cannot be obtained, we shall change the subject to the following 'Was the Massacre a Blunder or a Crime?' "

The Survey: "Terrible as was the indefensible wiping out o whole populations by the recent American air raids, there ar compensations in the new methods of community regeneration not to mention disease prevention, which will undoubtedly result Already social engineers from *The Inquiry* have conducted a questionnaire among the airmen, as to how they felt while engaged on such a horrible mission. Thus from the direst of con flicts and the foulest of wrongs spring, none the less, the instru mentalities of progress—the sanitation of the spirit and the cleans ing of the mind from error. As man understands himself bette with the passing of the centuries, such things will cease to be."

The World Tomorrow: "Due to an error of editorial judg ment for which we can never make sufficient amends to the world, we denied a request made by Eccentricus, the writer of ou Last Page these many years, that he take over the magazine bodily for a discussion of our Latin-American relations. He had a peace poem, it seems, only 4758 lines long, which would have filled our last issue entirely, but which, we now comprehend would most certainly have won the people of this country to a different conception of their world responsibilities. In a thought less moment, after reading the first 3725 lines of his sublime poem, we refused to entertain his plea. To our everlasting shame, we all know too well how wrong we were. We wil deny him no request hereafter."

And with that, appropriately enough, I woke up.

ECCENTRICUS.

Great Portraits of Little People

IV

The young fellow who keeps an elaborate diary in anticipation of the time when his fame will make it an invaluable treasure of posterity.

For Group Discussion

These questions have been added to the information in this issue for those who are interested in challenging or testing the points of view represented by the contributors. Such interest can be largely enriched if a group can meet and discuss the points at which they differ in theory or practice with one another or with the convictions here presented. The Editors and Miss Loucks will welcome criticisms or suggestions as to the usefulness of the questions.

What is the Place of the Strike as a Measure of Social Control?

I. Have the group members state why they as individuals are interested or uninterested in "strikes." From the reasons given, which may range from experience in a situation to mere impressions gained from newspapers, you will discover the point of concern that will give significance to the discussion and where the group's experience will most need to be supplemented if the decision be sound.

II. Take specific present or historical strike situations such as those in the Stuart Chase article or others in your experience and outline the significant elements in each situation. What were the general economic factors having an influence on the situation? What was the specific provocation of labor? What was the basis from the standpoint of the employer for this provocation?

III. Take one of the best illustrations. What actual advantage came to the workers as a result of the strike? What disadvantages?

What advantage came to the employers? What disadvantage? What to society as a whole? What, if any, of the values were common to the three groups?

IV. What part has violence played in the situations you are analyzing? To what extent do you agree with Harry Ward's analysis of its causes?

What are the "unmasked areas of force and violence in the existing order of society"?

V. What substitutes have been tried to gain the things that have mattered to all of the groups concerned with industrial democracy?

The group may well give one or more sessions to getting more information on the strike situation it may be examining and on such methods as the Producer's and Consumer's Co-operatives, The German Worker's Law of 1920, the Plum or B. and O. Plans, the Nash or Dutchess Bleacheries or Columbia Conserve Plans, etc.

VI. What are the important facts to be reckoned with in the testimonies of the writers of this issue on the replacing of the strike?

VII. What other types of substitutes do you see as necessary for the making of the kind of society you hold as desirable?

What is the place of fully autonomous industrial groups in that society? Criticize the statement: "The program of universal welfare can be brought about through existing democratic institutions."

Is a world where men are brothers economically a practical possibility?

VIII. In the light of all your discussion what do you conclude as to the place of the strike as a means of social control? In general? In specific situations? As an immediate goal?

IX. What bearing has this decision, if it is a vital one, on your life as an individual? in your vocational group? in your church life? in your political life?

GRACE H. LOUCKS.

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Theodore Dreiser

—greatest living American novelist—says:

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